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JULY 19, 1948

New Republic

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★ **THE DEMOCRATS MEET**

see page 5

★ **BATTLE FOR BERLIN**

see page 10

FAREWELL AND HAIL!
By HENRY WALLACE

15¢

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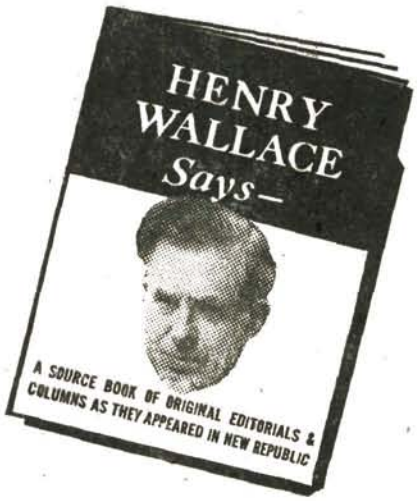

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WASHINGTON WIRE

PHILADELPHIA

SOME SORT of showdown is coming with Russia. It dwarfs in importance the Philadelphia convention, where everything was settled a week before it started. America, Britain and France use the word "insist," which is just short of "demand," in regard to Berlin.

Something must now give. The Western powers leave no loopholes, no retreat. They will not be forced from Berlin under "duress." If this note means anything, it means that Russian refusal will be followed by action; that the Western powers will be prepared to use force if necessary. If they back down now they have lost the diplomatic war. If they succeed it will mark the great divide in postwar history. Hold on to your seats, folks. This is the showdown.

Meanwhile a quiet conference goes on here. It is of utmost long-range, strategic importance. It is guarded with closest secrecy. Never before in peacetime has America had a military alliance. Will she now—whether formally ratified or without ratification in fact? Diplomats of Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Canada are asking Undersecretary of State Lovett what the US intends. The issue is *not* whether the US will underwrite Wester Europe militarily; that, in effect, has been affirmatively decided.

The issue is one of degree. How far will or can the US go in the event of a Russian attack? Is the US able and willing to arm and equip France and the Benelux countries to hold out at the Rhine until directly reinforced, or is the American strategic concept in case of war to fall back on the Channel, which means abandonment of France? France wants to know; so do the other countries. It may be a shock to easy-going voters who expected to devote the next 100 days to the escapism of a presidential election, but these are the chilly questions that arise in a cold war.

In all probability, the Democrats face defeat this year. It won't be their first; indeed, after 16 years in office, the tide was about due to turn under any circumstances. In retrospect we think the effort to draft Eisenhower without knowing his views was a mistake. There was something rather shoddy in trying to grab a military man's robe for political purposes. When Boss Hague and Senator Byrd joined the grabbers, it reacted even on sincere liberals. Well, that is over now. The Democrats stuck with Truman. This leaves several things to be said.

The present reactionary House has 245 Republicans, 185 Democrats, and 2 American Labor Party members. A GOP landslide, which is not improbable, might mean 50 or more additional seats. We think this would be a dreadful thing. Something like it happened in 1920. We doubt if even Dewey could hold such a Congress in check. For labor, this would spell simple disaster. There has never been a time when labor had more reason to exert itself in local and congressional politics than now.

Truman's chances of victory were practically nil before Philadelphia, and the pre-convention fight reduced them still more. The party is almost bankrupt and Truman must carry much of the burden himself. On the other hand, he might get a bigger vote than many observers now think: (1) he is a stronger campaigner than a lot of people realize; (2) the old sympathy vote is coming out again to the "underdog" who shows himself a fighter; (3) a feature of the alternative US political tides is that they appear to be moving along a rising Democratic trend.

That last point is stressed in Louis

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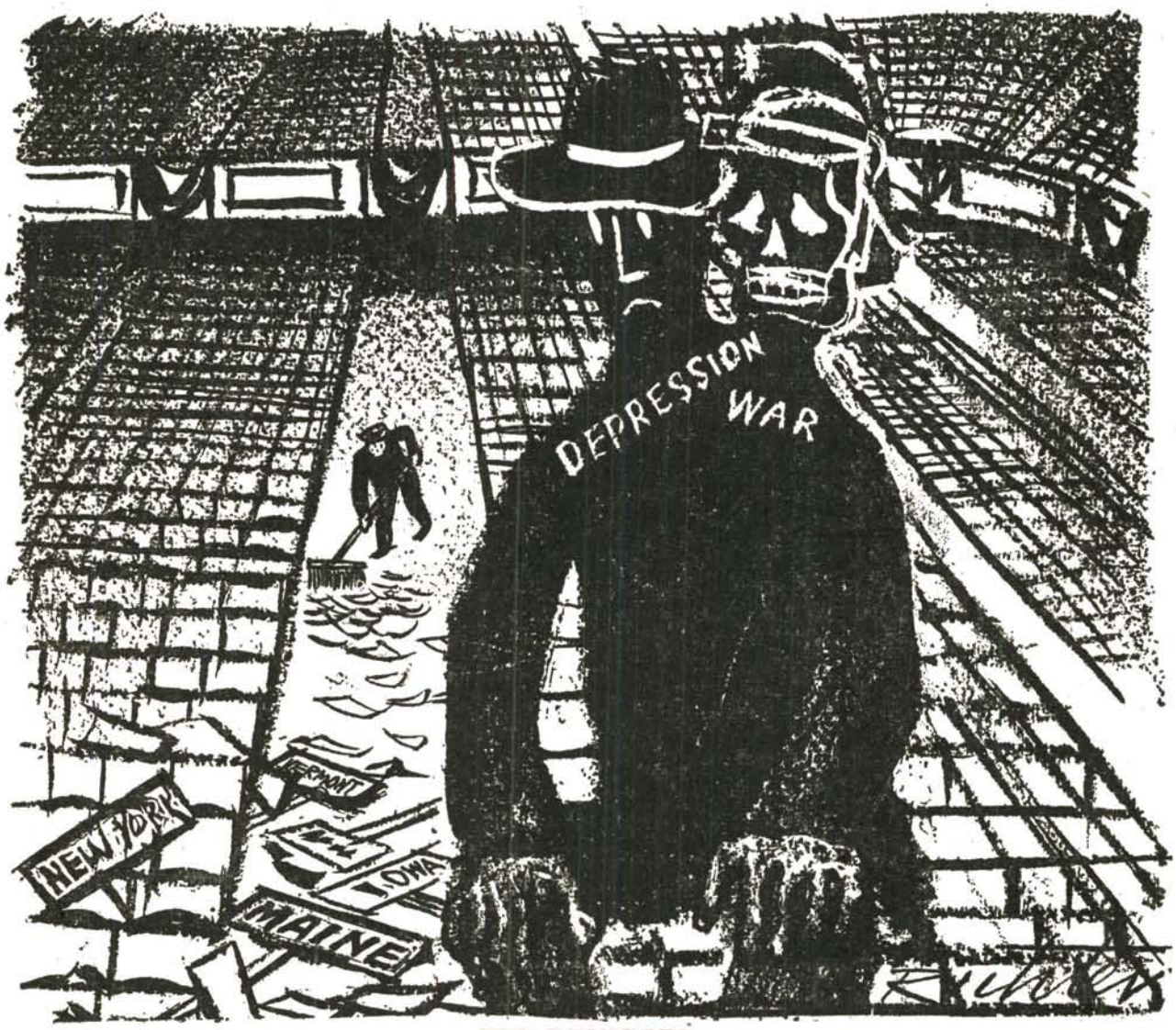
H. Bean's forthcoming book, *How to Predict Elections* (see page 22). Readers of this magazine have seen many of his remarkable forecasts. Bean shows that if a rip-roaring campaign gets out the full vote, the Democrats have deeper reservoirs to draw from than the GOP. Truman's real antagonist is apathy as much as Dewey. Truman has begun about three years late, but every election rule still points the same way, a slam-bang attack. We should think that calling Congress back would be one way to let the public know there's a fight on.

A new report from the President's Council of Economic Advisers will be out soon. It will show that inflation is worse than ever. Prices have now been rising for 10 years, something of a record. Inflation is now attacking moral as well as financial values. Every clergyman in the country should take note of it.

It attacks the store of wealth of the thrifty, the provident, the wife who puts aside for a rainy day, the husband who tries to safeguard dear ones. Into the frantic struggle of surplus funds competing for scarce goods the 80th Congress recklessly poured an additional $5 billion of purchasing power in tax reduction. This was one of the most wantonly profligate acts in fiscal history. Stock prices started up again, and prices that had shown some signs of tapering off after last February's grain break resumed their slow ascent.

Notes. Television is killing old-fashioned political conventions; they are too silly to stand the klieg lights: . . . Lack of funds for radio speeches will leave the Democrats practically voiceless, but Truman is no good on the radio anyway. . . . Progressive North Dakota forces have blocked the renomination of reactionary Representative Charles R. Robertson (R), an example of what can be done in the face of a Dewey victory. . . . The best guess here is that the present boom will last at least through '48. . . . Ottawa housewives boycotted high-priced beef recently; they cut the price 25 percent.

Washington T. R. B.



THE DELEGATE

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VOLUME 119, NUMBER 3, ISSUE 1755, NEW YORK CITY, JULY 19, 1948 **New Republic**

THE WEEK

A Rebellion, An Army, But No Chief

DAY AND NIGHT, all week long, Master Sergeant Marty Snyder kept up his fight at Philadelphia to nominate his old chief, Dwight Eisenhower. He parked his red jeep across from the Bellevue Stratford Hotel on Broad Street in the midst of the convention crowds and beneath buildings decked with flags, bunting and "Welcome, Delegates" signs appropriate for all three parties.

Students marched around him with Douglas placards. Philadelphians in shirtsleeves stood in wonder at the expenditure of so much energy in the stifling heat. "He can talk as long as a Senator!" they exclaimed.

Hoarse and sweating, Marty kept on shouting. "I can feel a spirit!" he cried. "I gotta go on! Besides," he would mutter occasionally, "the boss told me he'd call me when he wanted me to lay off, and he still hasn't called."

Flinging up his arms in dramatic gestures to the caucus-filled hotel rooms above his street corner, Marty appealed to the convention to recess and travel in a body up to Columbia to plead with the General. Only a few newspapermen waved back from the hotel windows. A few feet away, but in another world, delegates to whom Eisenhower was a name from the dead past posed, arms around one another, for photographers on the hotel steps. Only the Bellevue's donkey, its eyes blinking, nodded perpetually with an inane grin as Marty talked on and on.

Marty was a sergeant without an army. His commander had surrendered. His generals, once determined to die fighting, had retreated to live and fight another day. When Jake Arvey and William O'Dwyer declared that Eisenhower's second refusal was final, the battle was over. Until that moment, these two, together with James Roosevelt, Lister Hill and Frank Hague, would not accept the Eisenhower statement of July 5. Arvey, on the contrary, traveled to New York after the statement was issued to try to persuade Eisenhower to reverse himself, or at worst to give his silent blessing to the draft.

At that moment, the army of anti-Trumanites was gaining new divisions every day. As more and more Democrats deserted to Eisenhower, the White House guarded its lines to the General with special vigilance. The New York *Times* and the New York *Herald Tribune* insisted in tones of crisis that there was no crisis to justify a draft movement. The Republicans around Eisenhower closed in.

Truman's friends were angered rather than alarmed. One year ago, Truman suggested to Eisenhower that he would withdraw if Ike would run this year. Apparently Ike dismissed the suggestion. Truman was satisfied, and so for a time were his friends.

With the full use of his official investigating facilities, however, Tom Clark set out to make sure that the boys stayed in line. In early summer the desertions mounted, and lights burned by night in the camp of the anti-Trumanites. George Allen brought back word that Eisenhower, now his golfing companion, would not let himself be used to stop Truman.

Yet every leader knew that at best 100 of the 1,200 delegates at Philadelphia wanted Truman. When the anti-Trumanites moved up to Philadelpia with a full-scale caucus it looked as if Birnam Wood had come to Dunsinane. Allen was sent to Columbia on the Fourth of July weekend with a cease-and-desist order in his hand.

When, day after day, no statement was issued by Eisenhower, Truman's friends began to worry. What words were exchanged between the drive and the putt on many golf courses they had no idea. On Monday, July 5, an embarrassed Allen called to say that a message was coming, but that he did not know its nature. At three o'clock that afternoon, he called again to say that the golf game was over, and Truman had won.

But when the rebels read the message, they were not so sure. In conversations with Eisenhower, many of them had read into his phrases an unspoken desire to be commanded. They saw in the July 5 message signs of this desire. They decided to press ahead.

Jimmy Roosevelt assured all the anti-Truman forces that the caucus called in his and in O'Dwyer's names would be held as scheduled. The lines held, North and South. Once again, Arvey led a small group to see the General. They came away, spreading the strong impression that their candidate was ready to march. They even spoke of written proof of the terms on which the General was willing to run—namely, that with his obligation to Truman and Marshall once discharged, he felt himself free to accept a genuine draft.

Then the Democrats who had last seen him received word that Eisenhower had changed his mind. They still did not know who, among the conservatives who surround Eisenhower, pulled him back.

At this point the rebel army disintegrated. The banner of Douglas was raised. The soldiers, from Illinois,

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from the South, even from New York, refused to fight under it. Decisive in that hour was Douglas' refusal to resign from the Supreme Court and declare his ambition. The delegates to Philadelphia had seen the Vandenberg forces overwhelmed because their leader would not cry, "Yes!" They had been really hurt by Eisenhower's baffling indecision. They were not prepared to pursue another wraith.

Then, too, if Douglas was silent, the South was not. Only a personality of overpowering magnetism and universal appeal would hold together the impossible coalition of labor, the machines and the South. Roosevelt had been such a leader. Eisenhower might have been. Douglas, on July 6, was not.

The bosses brought forward the name of Douglas for Vice President. Jimmy Roosevelt withstood a powerful flank attack within the California delegation. The ADA and the CIO refused to give up the fight. As the delegates talked weakly of carrying Rhode Island for Truman, Marty Snyder continued to fill the streets of Philadelphia with forlorn, discordant sounds.

ANG ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

SAN FRANCISCO (NR correspondent)

The Communist issue in a new form dominated the annual convention of the American Newspaper Guild. The delegates were called upon to decide whether the Guild should fight as hard to protect the civil liberties of Communist members as it does for other members. The issue arose over the firing of Tom Buchanan from the Washington *Star* after he had acknowledged membership in the Communist Party.

The Washington local of the ANG, in a referendum, instructed its officers not to oppose Buchanan's firing. The matter touched off fiery argument here, with Guild officers trying to go into executive session but delegates insisting on open discussion. Twelve out of fourteen speakers condemned both the *Star's* firing and the Washington local's failure to protest.

Finally, a resolution was adopted which read, in part:

> Be it resolved that the convention declares it does not consider that political belief in the absence of a showing of overt misfeasance constitutes just and sufficient grounds for discharge. . . . The ANG admonishes all locals that any such discharges should be resisted. Be it further resolved that the Washington local be urged to process the Buchanan grievance.

The convention's request that the Washington local reconsider a policy arrived at after a referendum of all members, posed a problem in democratic procedure. The Washington Guild has been dominated by conservatives whose main strength is the employees of the *Star* and Cissie Patterson's *Times-Herald*. Thus, the national convention's action provides a direct challenge to their leadership.

LABOR IS RELUCTANT

Four years ago the CIO came within a stroke of carrying the Democratic convention for Henry Wallace for Vice President.

Now labor alone can replace the ebbing strength of the city machines and the South in the Democratic Party. At first it looked as if labor would assume leadership in the draft-Eisenhower movement. Then labor's effort faltered. Three major unions—textiles, steel and clothing—failed to endorse Eisenhower or to take any outspoken position in their annual conventions. The AFL, which breathed fire in January, fell silent in June when the Republicans nominated Dave Beck's good friend Earl Warren for the vice-presidency.

At a private meeting in Phil Murray's Pittsburgh office four days before the Democratic convention, key leaders of the steel, auto, textile, clothing and rubber unions met to consider orders of battle for their 80 delegates in Philadelphia. But no orders were issued. Eisenhower's second declaration had caught the CIO short. Murray, fearing the worst, had already declared that this year he would not speak to the convention. Walter Reuther alone had declared for Douglas.

The CIO leaders delegated Jack Kroll to speak for them at James Roosevelt's stop-Truman caucus. Kroll, director of the CIO-PAC and a delegate from Ohio, called for a "free and open convention." But neither for Douglas nor Eisenhower would the CIO issue orders for an all-out fight.

BUSINESS WANTS THE ATOM

Ever since the Atomic Energy Act was adopted by a reluctant Congress in 1946, a series of heavy assaults have been mounted against it. Joining in the drum barrage are the NAM, the Patent Bar, the ultra-conservatives of Congress, and the press. Behind them stand those segments of industry which would profit most handsomely when, and if, atomic power is thrown open to private exploitation. Thus, the main targets of attack are the government monopoly of production of fissionable material, the patent provisions of the Act, and those of its features guaranteeing civilian control.

Under the influence of these attacks, the policies of the Atomic Energy Commission have satisfied all but the most extreme reactionaries in Congress, in industry and among the military. For practical purposes the Commission has delegated to private groups every major operating, research and developmental function. Another visible effect is in the term bill for the commissioners adopted by the 80th Congress and signed—not without protest—by President Truman. This measure affords the next President the opportunity to appoint five new commissioners in the fall of 1950.

Nevertheless, the McMahon Act still stands as a formidable obstacle to the attackers. To remedy this, the magazine *Nucleonics,* published by Mc Graw-Hill, announced in its issue of July 15 "a specific plan for new legislation to replace the McMahon Act, to integrate the atomic-energy industry into our national economy" and "to accelerate the development of atomic energy by making provision for the widest participation by all qualified groups."

The McMahon Act, says *Nucleon-*

(Continued on page 8)

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INDONESIA'S TRUCE IS WAR

by Joseph P. Lyford

THE United Nations Security Council is congratulating itself on having brought peace to Indonesia. This means that through UN intercession, the Netherlands government has stopped shooting Indonesians and is now merely trying to squeeze them to death.

In pursuance of the Renville "truce" signed last January, the Dutch agreed to stop further military operations. The representatives of the Republic of Indonesia were even given several hints that independence for the 61 million inhabitants of Java, Sumatra and Madura might be forthcoming sometime in the distant future. Since the agreement came about through the mediatory efforts of the UN's Good Offices Committee, UN delegates felt they had won a big moral victory.

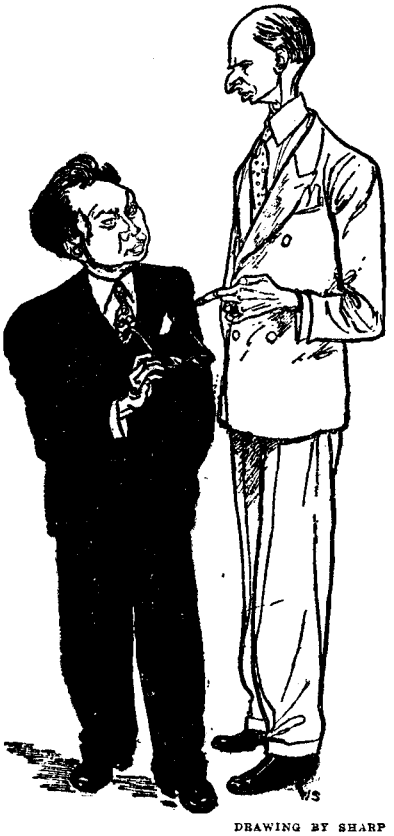
Despite the "truce," however, the Dutch have continued to maintain a tight sea, air and communications blockade of Republican-held areas on the island of Java (the *NR*, February 16), and the Republicans admit that it hurts—badly.

A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Times-Star* reports that "many of the men and women on the crowded streets of Jogjakarta [the capital of Indonesia] are dressed in burlap rags. Poverty hangs in the air like the intense humidity." The Republicans can trade with the outside world only by sneaking rubber, copra, quinine, pepper, cocoa, tea, sugar and other commodities past Dutch destroyers.

Meanwhile, in the UN Security Council, Indonesian delegate Lambertus N. Palar, a small, determined man, has been waging a spirited battle against Dutch delegate Dr. Eelco Van Kleffens, a tall, equally determined man. Palar says the Dutch are violating the Renville agreement and sabotaging the discussions supposed to implement it.

Thus far Palar has won all the debates, but the Security Council has done no more than agree to cable for "information" about "trade restrictions" imposed by the Dutch.

Van Kleffens regards Palar with all the affection of a bull for a gadfly. He maintains that the Dutch are scrupulously living up to their part of the Renville bargain. But Palar insists on enumerating a long string of accusations against the Netherlands government of misrepresentations of facts of the Indonesian situation, and deliberate violations of principles laid down at the Renville parley. He has bolstered his charges by references to two interim reports which the Australian-Belgian-United States Good Offices Committee has presented to the Security Council. A few examples:



DRAWING BY SHARP

The second GOC interim report, based on impartial on-the-spot investigation, states that, while the Republicans have withdrawn 35,000 troops from disputed areas in Java in accordance with the truce agreement, the Dutch have failed to live up to their side of the bargain by refusing to allow free trade between regions held by the Dutch and those in Republican hands.

Another GOC report asserts that Dutch troops, in violation of the August, 1947, cease-fire order, subsequently occupied Republican territory on the island of Madura, off the northeast coast of Java.

Van Kleffens has told the Security Council that his government is not trying to set up puppet states as buffers against the Republic of Indonesia. One of the GOC reports charges that the Dutch are the prime movers and organizers of just such a puppet type of state in west Java, and that they have completely dominated three conferences which have met to create this so-called "popular" republic.

Though Van Kleffens has told the Council that "there is martial law for our troops and for our troops only, not for the population," a GOC report states that the Dutch still impose martial law in all sectors of Java they now hold.

The Netherlands government has remained silent on these charges. Concurrently, in Batavia, the Dutch and Indonesians continue to argue about how to "implement" the provisions of what already seems a rapidly decaying truce. And the Dutch Navy continues to squeeze its blockade a little tighter.

Correspondents in Batavia and Lake Success have a pet phrase for the whole, dreary mess. As the New York *Times's* A. M. Rosenthal put it one day: "The Indonesian picture became more confused."

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(Continued from page 6)

ics, "was never intended to be permanent legislation." Following this startling announcement is a plan for a new law which will turn the atomic-energy project over to private business, reinstate the traditional patent system in the atomic field, and give the military an equal share with industry in the making of "policy."

The proposal is one which cannot fail to embarrass seriously such Republican leaders as Senators Vandenberg and Millikin, prime-movers in the passage of the present law. The principal good in forcing through the McMahon Act was consideration of national security. *Nucleonics* implies —almost, one might think, in jest— that the failure to achieve an agreement for world control removes the need for considering the security factor.

Nucleonics will find strong and affluent supporters. Among them will be the military, who already are pressing President Truman to give them direct control of A-bombs in the nation's stockpile. If this proposed private grab, which by comparison makes the tidelands-oil business look like penny-ante, is to be prevented, the same coalition which fought for the McMahon Act will have to reassemble and make a renewed effort to save it. But it is certain that 1949 will be much less propitious for such efforts than was 1946.

GRASS-ROOTS INTOLERANCE

JAMESTOWN, N. D. (NR correspondent)

The Know-Nothingism of two generations ago was revived during the North Dakota primaries. A constitutional amendment prohibiting public-school teachers from wearing religious garb was passed by a small popular majority.

The restriction is aimed principally at 75 Catholic nuns who teach in 19 schools in the western part of the state. During depression years these schools probably would have closed if the nuns had not taken over. Nevertheless, feeling against the nuns has risen in this dominantly Protestant state. When the legislature defeated a bill to prohibit religious garb, a popular petition forced it on the ballot as an amendment.

On the surface there was little evidence that it was a campaign issue. Newspapers refused ads on the subject and radio stations would not allot time for its discussion. But bigoted Protestants waged a white-hot campaign by word of mouth and by rumor.

Adoption of the amendment was the second sign of increasing anti-Catholic feeling in the West. A suit has been filed in New Mexico aimed at ending the use of Catholic nuns as teachers in public schools.

TOO MUCH WHEAT AGAIN

Out on the Great Plains they're beginning to talk about "the wheat problem." Estimates of the current wheat crop rate it the second largest in history and there is an outside chance that it may top last year's all-time record production. Timely rains that saved the Southwestern fields put the current crop over the top. And contrary to press speculation, the floods in the Northwest did not affect the wheat there, since it is planted in the higher ground near the Idaho border.

The bumper wheat crop was not only unexpected; it is all but unwanted. Since the February commodity break, wheat has never recovered. Wheat prices are at about the same level they were a year ago. And, at present parity levels, that brings wheat close to the point at which it would have to be supported under the present program.

Less than a year ago GOP congressmen opposed to European aid were blaming high US farm prices on foreign shipments and agitating for less food aid to Europe. Actually, the only thing that has kept us from reaching critical surplus conditions is the high level of shipments abroad. In April, the former anti-aid contingent was happy to see the export program for wheat and flour increased from 375 million bushels to 482 million. The first report on ECA expenditures shows that wheat and flour are the largest items to date. More than one-fourth of the $393 million spent so far has gone for wheat and flour.

Foreign demand, however, no longer can be counted upon to support the sagging wheat market. According to agricultural experts, European crops this year are almost up to prewar levels; only a relatively small increase is needed to get diets back to normal. Already there are reports that France, for example, will not take her full allotment from the US. Meanwhile, Canada and Argentina are off only a little from last year's production levels, but Australia is producing a bumper crop this year and will be competing with us for the dwindling European markets.

When that happens, the main prop will be knocked out from under our wheat market. The other chief support will drop out if this year's crop lives up to its bumper expectations. During the war US farmers learned to use wheat for feed. With corn scarce and prices sky high, it was cheaper to feed the wheat to animals. This year, with corn at times costing more than wheat, almost 200 million bushels of wheat —one-sixth of the total crop—went into the feed troughs. But when corn prices return to normal, as they may this fall, feeding wheat to animals will no longer make sense.

When both Europe and our livestock stop eating our wheat, that's when the trouble will really begin. That is "the wheat problem" which is worrying the Midwest. And in Washington and New York, economists are worried too as they remember the bust-after-the-boom in the early 1920's.

ORIGINAL KLANS, INC.

ATLANTA (NR correspondent)

Southerners, even liberal ones, make a distinction between the Klan that rode in Reconstruction days and the KKK which gained power throughout the South in the 1920's. Some of the hooded brethren are now engaged in trying to take advantage of that dis-

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HOPE FOR A WORLD BILL OF RIGHTS

by Roger N. Baldwin

WHEN THE SESSION of the UN Economic and Social Council meets in Geneva this month, an international body will, for the first time in history, possess the initial documents attempting to create a universal bill of rights. The Council will have before it enough material to keep the statesmen busy for weeks: the just completed draft of an international declaration of human rights framed by the United Nations Human Rights Commission; an unfinished job on a covenant for some of the same rights; fragmentary suggestions on how to enforce them; and—most voluminous of all—the report of the spring meeting, also at Geneva, of the first international assembly on Freedom of Information. That report presents the Council with three largely complementary drafts of covenants to ensure freedom of communication between whatever two or more nations sign them, and a host of resolutions covering international communications by press, radio and motion pictures.

It is not to be expected that the Council will rush to adopt an international bill of rights for submission to the General Assembly at Paris in September. Sharp differences on tactics mark its advocates.

The preparation of a bill of rights has traveled a hard road from its origin in the human-rights provisions of the UN Charter. High hopes and wide vision marked the early sessions of the Commission, but differing concepts of what are human rights have slowed its work. Its recent session inched along under a load of hair-splitting debate. The result was agreement only on the declaration—which will have no binding legal force. Even so, the Soviet bloc, voicing the idea that the only rights are those granted by the wisdom and generosity of governments, would not go along.

In view of the divergent traditions and practices, it is really remarkable that in two years' time any agreements at all have been reached. Grave misgivings were freely expressed on all sides before the Geneva meeting of the

Human Rights Commission in December last, where, contrary to all prophecies, a covenant was agreed upon and enforcement provisions were even tentatively worked out by a subcommission.

Though time and debate over the declaration prevented further action on it at the recent session, at least the forthcoming Council meeting will have documents on which it could conceivably act and transmit to the Assembly. If the Assembly tackles the problem with determination, it is possible that the nations might have before them this year the first treaties in history to embody civil, political and social rights, with machinery for enforcing them. This is a long-shot prospect. It is far more likely that a mere declaration will be adopted and treaties and their enforcement referred to the Human Rights Commission for study and report in 1949.

But if that deferment is discouraging to those who hoped for more decisive results, there is encouragement in the prospects for action on the work of the Conference on Freedom of Information. Many of us who have been deeply involved consider its draft covenants a far more significant approach than those proposed by the Human Rights Commission. For they deal not with the internal rights of peoples within the nations, but with the arrangements between nations for gathering and transmitting news and opinion, the circulation of printed matter, newsreels and radio programs. If freedom of communications among the world's peoples is the basis for forming a sounder public opinion, then the foreign policies at least of the democratic nations would be clearly affected.

The Economic and Social Council will have before it three drafts—the American, British and French—any one of which would go a long way toward setting up guarantees now entirely lacking. Considering that the conference which recommended them represented 54 nations, these drafts carry weight. Only the Soviet bloc of six opposed their basic philosophy. The drafts, with comments by governments, will go to the Council in July, with reasonably bright prospects of submission of one or more to the Assembly for adoption, and adherence by any two or more states.

It will be objected that however promising are the prospects of the adoption of declarations and covenants by the Council and the Assembly, they will mean little when it is certain that the "iron curtain" countries will not sign.

Human rights, it is argued, may be respected perhaps by the rest of the world, but how can they be made effective where they are most denied? The answer to that would appear to lie in the success with which the rest of the world actually puts into effect its high principles. It is hardly likely that the "iron curtain" countries will long resist coöperation if they find it a disadvantage not to share in reciprocal arrangements for their journalists, films and publications.

The significance of what is now to come before the UN Council and Assembly lies in the advancement of genuinely democratic forces against the statism of the Communists. If we are to vindicate our principles, every possible encouragement to prompt action is essential both from governments and the host of non-government popular agencies throughout the world.

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(Continued from page 6)
tinction to give klanism a new legal status.

Superior Judge T. Hicks Fort of Columbus, Georgia, has just issued a charter to the "Original Southern Klans, Inc.," which is authorized to operate for profit, print a newspaper and run radio and television stations. Judge Fort, a Talmadgeite, said he "acted on his own discretion" after finding "nothing in the charter to indicate illegal intent."

The "original" klansmen celebrated their victory in an unoriginal way. They touched off a fiery cross on Ku Klux Hill in Phenix City, Alabama, across the state line from Columbus. A spokesman for the outfit declares it is "not a hate group" and is "for the Negro if he stays in his place."

The organization is evidently composed of two klaverns which are bolting from Grand Dragon Samuel Green's unincorporated "Association of Georgia Klans." The KKK's national charter was revoked last year by a suit initiated when Ellis Arnall was Governor, a heavy blow to klanism. The KKK was also on Attorney General Tom Clark's list of disloyal organizations.

So far the only step taken to block the Klan's new disguise has been by the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, which has petitioned the FCC not to grant a license to the radio station being planned by the Klan at Columbus, Georgia.

OUR GERMAN STAKE IS WORTH BIG RISKS

AT THE MOMENT when Secretary Marshall was handing to Soviet Ambassador Alexander S. Paniushkin the US note of protest on the Berlin crisis, Undersecretary Lovett was discussing US help for rearmament with the ambassadors of the European Western Union nations. More than coincidence was involved.

The New York *Herald Tribune* commented, "Americans simply do not understand military power politics, not because they are fundamentally any more pacific than other peoples, but because they have had so little national experience in the grim subject. . . . Promptness, flexibility and consistency of both military and diplomatic plan and action are continuing essentials in this dangerous world; and as a world power the United States must learn continuously to show them."

In Berlin the Russians are paraphrasing Karl von Clausewitz's famous dictum to read: Bluff and blackmail are the continuers of policy by other means. And it must be plain by now that the area of policy affected is not merely the fate of Berlin itself. Of course, the Russians would like to force the Americans, British and French out of the German capital. But the blackmail of the cold blockade (see page 11) is a bigger lever, intended to accomplish a larger purpose.

Behind Berlin lies Germany, and through the Marxist spectacles of the men in the Kremlin, Germany means control of the Ruhr—the source of Europe's industrial, hence military, power. The goal of the military power politics that the Russians are playing in Berlin is a complete reëxamination of four-power control of Germany, with emphasis on the destiny of the Rhineland area that powered the German military machine in two wars.

Moscow has been taking risks in this game. The reason is plain. Russian efforts to wreck ECA are failing; Moscow is having trouble in its own Balkan backyard; Western Europe is getting on its feet again; and, contrary to the Kremlin's hopes, the forthcoming US election promises no split in bipartisan support for US help to Europe, both economic and military. Moscow knows that time now is working against the Soviets. Boldness and speed were necessary, and the men of the Politburo took the risks.

The questions now are whether the Western Allies know exactly their long-range purposes and are willing to take risks to achieve them. Unfortunately, there is evidence that in Berlin, at least, they acted in a short-range, piecemeal fashion, approaching the partial problem out of the context of the whole problem. They made mistakes which the Russians exploited. Such mistakes cannot be repeated. The situation is too full of danger.

Already, the Russians have won an advantage. While it is true that the air bridge to Berlin successfully counteracted the cold blockade, the device is temporary. While it is also true that the parallel notes of protest from Washington, London and Paris have partly made up for the Western Allies' loss of prestige in Germany, some sort of four-power meeting to write a substitute for the Potsdam pact seems inevitable. And for this the Russians will be able to claim credit since they have been carrying on a propaganda campaign in favor of a resumption of the Foreign Ministers' Conference.

Nevertheless, such a conference is to be desired, for it would present an opportunity for the US and its allies to offer concrete proof that Washington has finally understood military power politics. What must be decided is the whole question of four-power control not only of Germany but of Austria.

Thus far, the US has allowed itself to be maneuvered into the position of seeming to oppose a united Germany while the Russians favor it. What is the real US policy? Are we willing, at least temporarily, to drop the fiction of quadrilateral control? Will we include a western Germany in the European Western Union, or at least give it full ECA support? Will we give the worried Europeans, especially the French, a definite military guarantee? If not, what precisely will we do to stop the Russians? The questions must be answered.

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NEW MARKS, OLD MISTAKES IN BERLIN

BERLIN

by Frederick Ford

THERE CAN BE no doubt that the Russians deliberately created the Berlin crisis. Every step they have taken in recent months has been designed to cause a chaotic situation which, they hoped, would drive the Western Allies out of the German capital. But the westerners, by their ineptitude and lack of foresight, have unwittingly aggravated the crisis and worsened their situation in Berlin, thus playing into the hands of the Russians.

It is quite true that the western Berliners are worried by the Russians' cold blockade of the American, British and French sectors of the city, and heartened by the fabulous fleets of planes pouring in supplies. Most of them blame the Russians for their plight. Though they recognize the present duel as a war of nerves, they notice that, as always, the westerners are the allies of life and liberty, the easterners of starvation and distress. But they are at present most intimately concerned with the effect upon their lives and futures of the simultaneous circulation of two currencies in the city. And for the distress this causes, they do not hold the westerners blameless.

The crisis is certain to figure in future textbooks on economics. Seldom before has Gresham's famous law that "bad money drives out good" had such a proving ground.

For the financier, there may not be much to choose between the western-backed Deutsche mark, the official currency of the western sectors, and the Russian-backed "sticker" mark (the old Reichsmark with the stickers attached), the legal tender in the eastern sector and the Soviet occupation zone generally. Both currencies have no backing except the bayonets of the respective occupation powers.

But the situation is different for a majority of ordinary Berliners. Before the Deutsche mark was introduced here, they had heard news about what the new currency could buy in the western occupation zones. Moreover, relying instinctively on a currency backed by the West as against one backed by the East, they plumped for the Deutsche mark as "good" money. Their choice seemed justified by loud trumpeting by western "experts" that the new money was "hard"—just the sort every right-thinking Berliner should use.

Yet, just a fortnight after the new money began to circulate here, the "experts" are forced to admit that the Deutsche marks have virtually disappeared. Everybody is either hoarding them or using them exclusively for black-market purposes, since the black marketeers are now refusing the old Soviet-sponsored currency. At the moment, the new marks have only gone underground. But Berlin buys far more from western Germany than it sells there; and observers predict that the new marks will drain out of the city altogether as soon as more normal communications are restored with the western occupation zones. At that time, western Berliners will be back where they would have been if the new currency hadn't been introduced into the city—they will be using the Soviet-sponsored old marks.

Meanwhile, the way the introduction of the new currency was handled here has had two bad results: (1) it has done more than anything else to hurt the confidence Berliners had in the Western powers; and (2) it has in effect defeated the Western powers' political purpose in bringing the new marks to Berlin. This purpose was to prevent the Russians from using general circulation of the old marks as a powerful lever in their control of the city.

But the westerners were incredibly inept, and as a result the old Soviet-sponsored marks are now in fact the city's main currency. They also are well on the road to becoming the city's only currency. Except for speculators who have reaped rich harvests, no western Berliner has gained anything, and most have lost. Moreover, it was precisely those Berliners who trusted the westerners who suffered most, since these pro-westerners refused to accept the Russians' offer to profit by eastern-sector currency reform.

The political loss of prestige has been enormous. The pro-West Berliners feel very strongly that the westerners have welched on them, pointing to the sequence of events as proof. The new mark was introduced here on June 25, the day after the Russians had announced their own currency reform. Most Berliners recognized the Russian announcement as the inevitable, even necessary, response to the previously announced western currency reform. But they welcomed the contest on a political basis, seeing in the western move proof that America, Britain and France would remain here no matter what Russian pressure might be applied to get them out. On this basis, they were ready to accept the difficulities that would arise as a result of the simultaneous circulation of the two currencies.

A certain amount of protest was voiced when the western authorities ruled that both currencies would be accepted at par for rationed foodstuffs, elevated and subway fares and in payment of municipal services such as gas and electricity. Nevertheless the ruling was eventually accepted. Insistence on payment in the new marks for food rations would have made impossible the situation of the hundreds of thousands of Berliners who live in the western sector but work in the eastern. Moreover, Berlin's elevated railways are under complete Russian control because they form part of the Soviet zone's general railway system.

During the following days, other western orders broadened the field of goods and services for which both currencies had to be accepted at face value, and there was a mounting wave of protest from pro-western Berlin

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politicians and financial experts. The final blow fell on July 4 when the westerners suddenly announced that only 25 percent of all wages would be paid in western marks, the remainder in the old marks. In effect, this decision forced the acceptance by Berliners of a major part of their wages in a currency that western officials had been denouncing as inflationary and worthless.

J. O. Fisher Freeman, deputy Financial Adviser to General Clay, told newspapermen that it had never really been the intention of the westerners to introduce the Deutsche mark as the main currency in the western sectors of the city. He made this statement the day after the issue of the 25-percent-wage decision. To American and British newspapermen who heckled him, he said, "One might really regard the 25 percent to be paid in western marks as a hard-currency bonus."

For 90 minutes Freeman and Bernard Cook, of the British headquarters, were put through grueling questioning. The main point of the criticism was that the westerners were trying to carry out the currency reform according to the textbooks without regard for the unique political and economic position of Berlin today. Repeatedly, the two financial experts were forced to admit that they had not allowed for difficulties that correspondents and other observers had warned against for months, indeed since the first mention of currency reform.

Questioning of the experts brought out, for example, that no provision had been made for employers in businesses earning no new marks to obtain such marks for the payment of their employees' wages. And it became clear that practically every employer would pay all wages in cheap eastern marks, salting away the valuable western ones either for a rainy day or for a flight out of Berlin to the western zones. These facts had almost literally to be forced from the experts. And the attitude of the Berliners was not improved by the rumor that General Clay had to intervene personally before Freeman and Cook would agree to meet the press.

The first stages of the Russians' cold blockade of the city did not seriously bother Berliners. Since the complete stoppage of land communications on July 4, the Berliners of the western sectors have been feeling the pinch. The immediate creation of the air bridge, over which some 500 transport planes have been flying in supplies, prevented any cutting of the scanty food rationing, but there has been a great reduction in the available supply of electricity. Long summer days make this tolerable in homes, but street cars have been rarer and even more overcrowded.

Most important of all, factories in the western sections are going on half-time, and the city authorities expect to have 100,000 unemployed to deal with. Within a month or so, industrial production will have come almost to a halt because of lack of electricity, coal and raw materials. The success of the air bridge makes it hard to say flatly that sufficient quantities of coal and raw materials could not be flown in. But air-transport experts believe it would take at least 600 of the heaviest four-engine bombers to bring in the coal, and many hundreds more the raw materials.

For all this, the Berliners hold the Russians primarily responsible, but as the days pass and the situation grows more tense, there is a tendency to grumble more about the westerners' lack of foresight and faulty understanding both of their eastern antagonists and of the exacting requirement of a power-politics contest.

Theoretically, the next step the Russians could take would be to interfere with the operations of the westerners' air bridge. However, no one here expects them to disregard General Clay's warning. The airfields at which the transport planes land are well within the American and British sectors, and any interfering with planes in the air would amount to an openly offensive act—something which both easterners and westerners are carefully avoiding. In fact, the most noticeable aspect of all the Russian acts is that they have at least the appearance of legality, and could be countermanded without serious loss of face. For example, the stoppage of rail freight operations between Berlin and the West was officially explained as the result of "technical difficulties on the railway tracks near Magdeburg." If the Russians wanted to back up, they could say the tracks had been repaired.

The western authorities here are in no position to carry out successful reprisals against the Russians. It is true that they could put them out of the Berlin radio station in the British sector of the city, or they could close the canal running through the western sectors of the city, which carries much vital Russian traffic. But the Russians hold so many better cards in this kind of game that it would be folly to try to play it.

Only strong government action in Washington, London and Paris can force the Russians to lift the blockade, and it can be taken for granted that Moscow will exact a high price. Though the Russians realize by now that they cannot force the westerners out of the city by war, they also feel that the westerners can remain here only as long as a majority of the western-sector Berliners want them to stay: if the pro-western Berliners ganged up with the East against the West, the western position would be untenable.

Here is where the currency blunders come in. The Russians, as usual, are using two strings to their bow. While making the economic situation of the Berliners as difficult as possible, they also are trying to shift the blame to Washington and London. Thus far, the scheme is not a success, but a start has been made in confusing the Berliners. If more blunders are made—and the Russians are counting on them—Moscow hopes a day will come when the Germans in the western sectors will ask the Americans and British to get out. If that day comes, the Americans, British and French will have to stage the most disgraceful retreat of the cold war.

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CONVERSATIONS IN ATHENS

by Ann Hightower

ATHENS

THE ECONOMIC FACTS of the Greek tragedy were outlined for me by a Greek conservative, a former diplomat.

1. Greek tobacco, which was once the source of the greatest income from abroad, now lies in warehouses while buyers dicker with wholesalers over fabulous prices. Wholesalers say they must operate at the black-market value of the drachma, which is twice the normal rate. To solve the problem, Greek currency must be stabilized. The US Mission's new barter-certificate scheme offers little hope.

2. The second crop for outside income was currants and raisins. Much production was destroyed during the war. Britain's fancy cake-makers, Huntley and Palmer, formerly used almost the whole crop, but those good old days are over. Britain is on an austerity regime and there seems to be no replacement for this market.

3. Greek shipping, age-old means of support, was 75-percent destroyed by the Germans. Although Piraeus rings with hammers trying to transform beat-up hulks into seaworthy craft, there is still a long way to go, and Europe is slim pickings for customers.

4. Olive groves were partially destroyed or neglected. Centuries-old trees are producing barely enough for the homefolks. Greek brandy and wines have lost what little market they had won before the war.

5. Wartime destruction of houses, shipping, crops, roads and factories was tremendous. The great Corinth Canal which carries goods inland was blasted by the Germans, and the harbor of Athens is clogged with sunken ships.

My diplomatic friend reminded me of the open-air musical show we had seen the night before, "Laughter without Veto." The audience roared at skits which satirized the Greeks' present political state. In one act, for instance, Stalin and Truman sawed the world in two right through Greece. Greece leapt out of the cloven globe as a demure damsel to be pulled from one to the other in a dance. Truman's eventual triumph drew lusty cheers, but there was a slight feeling of impermanence as Stalin tapped his foot in the corner.

This sardonic Greek chorus was augmented for me by an aged Greek artist, a former Socialist. "The US Mission has done nothing to the old setup," he said. "The country is still in the clutches of three dozen families and the Bank of Greece. Millions of American money goes into military supplies. It would hurt the Communists more if it were used to help farmers and workers get things started."

The subject of "getting things started" was gone into vehemently by two young Greek veterans. They contended that Greece's tourist appeal had never been exploited. Right now, they admitted, it would be a bit hot for tourists in the north, but there were other things—the radiance of Athens; the glorious sailing around the Greek isles; the beauty of the designs of textiles and pottery; the tiny orchestras that play and sing to you in open-air restaurants; the peasant festivals, markets, dances throughout spring and summer; and the wonderful hubbub of Athens' narrow back streets with their miles of open markets.

The younger of the two veterans said that the US pretense of non-interference in Greek affairs fooled nobody. The US, he pointed out, was given full credit for the change of government from Tsaldaris to Sophoulis, and for the small gains made under the new regime.

It would be wrong to get the notion that members of the American Mission have not endeared themselves. Everyone I asked—Greeks, British, American newspapermen, and local business representatives—seemed eager to praise the Mission. US personnel have behaved with rare discretion.

Dwight Griswold, Mission head and ex-Governor of Nebraska, brought with him many dry Nebraskans who don't go for pub-crawling, so the American Mission Association sponsored card parties and socials. The Americans took over an unpretentious place a few blocks behind American residence headquarters at the King George Hotel. It is run by a man called Parky who spent some years in New York. He does a kind of Calypso chant on each order—"Wan spaysheall beeg steak for the Amayracan Naayvee," or "Wan spaysheall glass of water for the offizay from Tayxsas." The latter gag has the Americans in stitches. The Greeks don't get it; the British look tolerantly amused.

I met George, the Royalist Rotarian, who lost no time in performing for me what I felt sure was his regular act. Narrowing his eyes, he said in dramatic tones, "Dear lady, you Americans must understand us Greeks —and do not let yourself be too kind. You must see to it that the worthy people are in power." By "worthy people" I later discovered that he probably meant his friend General Napoleon Zervas, the rightist pretender to a military dictatorship. It was no surprise. Men like Zervas have always been respectable in Royalist Greece.

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FAREWELL AND HAIL!

by Henry Wallace

EIGHTEEN MONTHS AGO, in my very first words as Editor to the readers of the *New Republic,* I said that my job was "to help organize a progressive America." Commenting on the Democrats and the Republicans in that first editorial, I was very specific, saying that "the American people have rejected, as they will always reject, a Democratic Party that is not militantly progressive. Americans have called for a new leadership. They will not find it in the present Republican hierarchy; until they find it, they will not rest."

The base of the New Party, which I recognized as probable in December of 1946, I described as follows:

> We can achieve peace, jobs and freedom in One World without war. But we cannot preserve any one of these conditions in any country until we achieve all three in all countries. . . . America will never be part of One World in which there is not civil liberty. The USSR will never be part of One World in which there is not economic and social security. All who really believe in One World recognize that the search for peace, freedom and jobs for all is a worldwide search. This search is the basis for our new start.

As part of that search I visited, in 1947, six European countries and Palestine. In between visits abroad, I talked face to face with several hundred thousand Americans, East and West, North and South. In my speeches everywhere I said that if the Democratic Party continued to be a War Party I would do my part to see that the people had a chance to vote for peace. There was, of course, no hope in the Republican Party, which was dominated by the advocates of American empire and whose only alternative was that presented by the isolationist minority. I knew that either course would lead to war, that there was no possibility of the US either dominating the world or withdrawing from it, and that any attempt to do one or the other would be short-lived and end in disaster.

By December of 1947 it became clear that both the old parties were definitely war parties. The dominant groups in both parties were imperialist, labor-hating, militaristic and reactionary—utterly opposed to the longtime trend of economic or political forces. Because of the nature of state election laws, I had to act, and act fast, or go back on my pledge. I acted. I announced my independent candidacy and plans to help build a New Party.

Throughout 1947, Michael Straight, the publisher of the *New Republic,* had been of continuous and very great help to me, especially in my trips abroad. He recognized almost from the start the likelihood that I would head up a New Party. He also felt that the Editor of the *New Republic* should not be the leader of the New Party. I agreed, and retired to Contributing Editor as soon as I announced my candidacy. Now, on the eve of the New Party Convention, the time has come to resign as Contributing Editor. The strenuous three months ahead will require my full energies. Moreover, the *New Republic* editors should be completely free to support, without any embarrassment whatever, the candidate and party which most appeal to them.

I regret leaving the *New Republic* for two reasons. First, I had a most pleasant personal relationship with the staff of the paper at all times. Second, I shall miss the weekly opportunity to talk things over with the thousands of progressives who subscribed to the *New Republic* because they wanted to keep in continuous touch with what I was really thinking, instead of depending on partial and often garbled newspaper accounts. I was just beginning to get acquainted with these fine people, and I hope that I shall be able to find some way, in the months ahead, to maintain contact with them. Parting is always sorrowful unless there is some thought of getting together again.

In this last column for the *New Republic* I wish to describe briefly the world forces as I see them in the perspective of broad personal experience. Few men have been so privileged as I to see at close hand, and to act in, one of the great dramas of all times.

It was the farmers' fight for economic justice that first led me into political activity. Beginning more than a quarter of a century ago, I fought for twelve years to see that the farmer got the "moral, legal and economic equivalent of what the corporate form of organization and the tariff gave to industry." No one suffered more from the backwash of the First World War than the American farmer.

Beginning with farm problems, I gradually became aware that they could not be solved by themselves, that they were intimately tied up with full employment at high wages, both at home and abroad. I found that the farmer had to take into account the needs of the consumer. Because the hog farmers were in such a mess in

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1933, with prices less than one-third what they had been, I went along with the leadership of farm organizations on the program for cutting down hog production until purchasing power could be restored at home and abroad for our tremendous surpluses.

At the same time I began pushing hard to protect the consumer against droughts, war, and high prices, with a system of storage known as the Ever Normal Granary. It was a system designed to protect the farmer against unusually low prices in years of great abundance and the consumer against high prices in years of great security.

This was not enough to protect the consumer, and so we developed the stamp plan to help the people who couldn't get enough to eat because their income was too low. Because of our Ever Normal Granary, we had accumulated several hundred million extra bushels of wheat and corn and several million extra bales of cotton when the war broke out. We had traded part of the surplus cotton for rubber, and in this way did one of the most significant stockpiling jobs done by any branch of the government in preparation for the trouble that was to come.

I know that several million people would have felt the pangs of starvation if it had not been for the Ever Normal Granary. I know that several hundred thousand additional users of automobiles would have had to lay up their cars had we not traded cotton for rubber.

Our agricultural program was the first nationwide experiment with economic democracy in the US. The farmers elected township and county committeemen who planned and executed soil-conservation programs designed to "store" potential grain and cotton in the soil when the Ever Normal Granary could hold no more. There was a vast amount of county-by-county and state-by-state planning to do. The figure work was enormous and we devised statistical systems where none had existed before. The structure we built was so good that both Democrats and Republicans now accept what we did as the basis for all future agricultural programs. Without our program, the misery caused by the war would have been infinitely greater.

In all this work I had President Roosevelt's enthusiastic backing. He liked the agricultural program so well that he began to ask my advice

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on other things, especially foreign policy.

After I had been elected Vice President, Roosevelt sent me on three diplomatic missions abroad and named me to head up the Board of Economic Warfare. He also insisted that I be thoroughly posted with regard to the development of the atomic bomb, long before Alamogordo or Hiroshima. Roosevelt gave me a greater chance for service than any President had ever before given a Vice President. We shared what might be called a feeling for history—a knowledge that the world moves on and that with a little courage to stand against reactionaries, a great deal can be done to reduce human suffering.

In the course of world travels and diverse activities at home, I became more and more aware of the supreme importance of overcoming our delinquencies in civil liberties. I became more and more conscious of the interrelationship of all our problems. I learned that we couldn't solve the problems of any group unless we solved the problems of all. That is why I took so much pleasure in looking squarely at the Southern delegations at the National Democratic Convention, in Chicago in July, 1944, and saying "The poll tax must go." I knew how they would react. As Vice President, I had seen the bitterness of Southern Senators in their filibustering, when civil-rights legislation, passed by the House, had come over to the Senate for action.

I know from my own experience that it takes a long while to wake the average American up to the fact that we don't have real political democracy in the US. Until he himself is hurt he is slow to open his eyes. Negro, Jewish and many foreign-born citizens constantly undergo personal experiences that call attention to the shortcomings in our democracy. Protestant Americans of old pioneer stock take certain things for granted which really are not so. But if they begin to question, as I have done, the habits of reactionary business, the customary discriminatory practices of the "white supremacists," or the methods of the government which happens to be in power, they will receive a liberal education as to what the First and Fourteenth Amendments really mean in the US.

I have come to the conclusion that the protection and extension of civil rights and the elimination of discrimination and segregation must be Point Number One in the platform of any progressive party. Freedom to speak without fear of losing a job, plus freedom to assemble peacefully, will give us a chance to engage in the open public discussion which is one of the things necessary to prevent war.

The greatest fight of my life has been and will be the fight for peace. More than anything else, the New Party is a peace party. I began the fight for peace because I realized, even before the war ended, that there were powerful groups in the Army, Navy and State Department, working closely with important businessmen, who looked on Russia as the next enemy and were therefore getting ready for the next war. That is why I wrote, in early 1945:

> Just as lasting peace at home cannot thrive in a climate of social tensions, so there can be no lasting peace in the world if our relations with foreign countries are founded on prejudice, ignorance and suspicion. There can be no question as to the necessity of full participation with the UN in helping other countries help themselves toward better living standards, for I believe that this good-neighborliness spreads benefits both ways. And I want here to emphasize the necessity of avoiding and removing the defeatist tensions that are caused by constantly expecting the other fellow to take a poke at us.

I was trying to fight the trend. My letter of July 23, 1946, to President Truman did not long stop it, nor my speech on September 12 at Madison Square Garden, nor my resignation as Secretary of Commerce a few days later. I am sure all of these actions were useful. But after a time the drive to divide the world into two parts intensified.

I redoubled my efforts, and finally I wrote my letter to Stalin. It was a letter which set forth a basis for peaceful settlement of differences without sacrificing a single American principle or public interest. I got a good reply. Personally I think the drive to war was slowed down for a moment by the letter and Stalin's answer.

But the situation in Berlin is dangerous. It emphasizes how important it is to have a peace treaty with Germany as soon as possible, so as to get the troops of all the occupying powers out of Germany within a year. I set forth this objective in my letter to Stalin. I would assume from Stalin's reply that it was acceptable to him.

The ultimate objective, as I see it, is a stronger UN without any one nation taking unilateral action in what should be a UN field. The most dangerous step was taken by the US when at Geneva, in August of 1946, it killed UNRRA and when, in December of that year, it refused to provide any successor agency. Unilateral relief aid by the US, no matter how generous the scale may be, will not offset the suspicions inevitably resulting from the political and trade strings attached.

The UN must be strengthened by using it. It must be strengthened by settting up a powerful world police force under article 43 of the UN Charter. The Military Staff Committee of the UN discussed this matter more than a year ago, but since then nothing has been done about it, in spite of the great need in Palestine which could be seen so clearly the moment the UN Assembly acted on November 29, 1947. The great powers failed the world when they failed the UN in this matter. Trygve Lie, the Secretary General of the UN, should not have to beg for a tiny token police force. The time has come for stronger action than that. The time has come to realize that we can't have peace as long as any nation or group of nations uses either military or economic power unilaterally.

As I see it, there are three great underlying world forces at the present time. First, more than half, more than

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a billion, of the people of the world have not yet escaped from the agricultural feudalism, from exploitation by money lords, landlords and war lords.

Second, great corporations are reaching out for imperialistic, international control.

Third, when expenditures run into tens of billions in a great war, financial and psychological dislocations are set in motion which require the greatest skill to stabilize on behalf of the general welfare.

Of these three forces, the greatest and most long continuing is the first, because the underprivileged, unlettered masses of the world, living precariously in deep poverty, are now aware for the first time of other possibilities. My whole thesis has been that the peace of the world demands that the US should help these people to raise their standard of living, rather than to help their exploiters. Whether it is Chile, China or the Balkan states, the problem fundamentally is the same. The world needs more productive agriculture, expanded industry, education for the masses, and an opportunity for them to share in the fruits of increased productivity.

As a result of war and postwar profits the huge American corporations have now reached a power incredibly greater than anything they ever enjoyed before. Labor has been greatly weakened by this fact, and by restrictive legislation. Huge corporate interests have completely entrenched themselves in government during the past three years.

The old political parties are equally under the control of powerful corporations, at both the state and the national level. The best they can provide is competition between conflicting financial groups on the national level and competing contractors and racketeers on the local one. There is no competition in basic philosophy. When it comes to action, most state legislatures are owned by great corporations. The situation has become infinitely more perilous than in earlier fights of the people against entrenched interests—the fights when Jefferson, Lincoln and the Populists were so deeply concerned.

The dislocating effect of the backswing from huge war and postwar expenditures will probably cause us greater concern two or three years from now than it does today. When it manifests itself, it will set off a chain reaction that will remind us of Hiroshima. Of course, we could guard against this terrible economic explosion, with its inevitable international and political consequences. But this will not be done with either of the old parties in power.

I have spoken before dozens of audiences, advocating a program of progressive capitalism. As a businessman and a student of science and technology, I know that my program for peace, for understanding with Russia, for keeping the economic system going, as set forth in my book, *60 Million Jobs*, are all vital to saving our present civilization. If we do not write into every aspect of our capitalistic system the idea of "service" instead of "exploitation," it will pass into the discard.

The fine points of doctrine which concern the different brands of Marxists, socialists, liberals and progressives have real significance in a study of European politics today; but in American politics of 1948 they are insignificant as compared with the native progressive sense of masses of Americans. There can be no useful purpose in generalizing or drawing hard sectarian or doctrinaire lines. The old-fashioned American radicalism stemming from Jefferson, Lincoln, the Populists, William Jennings Bryan and Franklin Roosevelt has been very little influenced by Europe.

These native progressive movements were invariably violently attacked as foreign-inspired by a press vicious in its distortions and perversions. Every possible type of attack will be used, because every conservative feels that anyone who emphasizes the man as being more important than the dollar is undermining the pillars of society and is probably purchased with foreign gold. The only beneficiaries of Red-baiting today are reactionaries, just as the reactionaries are also the only beneficiaries of narrow sectarian approaches by the various Marxist groups.

Every enemy of the New Party would clearly love to see it split on some doctrinaire basis, but it won't happen. There will be healthy, lively discussion at the New Party convention on July 23, 24 and 25, but attempts to create artificial divisions will fail. The New Party will prove that it really is a peace party and is the inheritor of the Jeffersonian, Lincolnian and Rooseveltian tradition in its fight against monopoly and for the protection of labor, farm and independent business in America. It will be for genuine free enterprise but against those great corporations which extend across international boundaries and stand for imperialism, exploitation and war.

The New Party will not engage in the double talk which characterizes so much of the liberal press as it endeavors to go in two directions at the same time. The New Party is not pro-Russian or pro-Communist, but it will not lend itself in any way to the Red-baiting or Russia-baiting of the propaganda-manufacturing pseudo-liberal. Informed, courageous progressives know that the fundamental job for all who believe in democracy is to preserve an atmosphere in which democracy is possible. Our great source of strength in our fight against reaction will be the underlying faith which the average American got in school and church, where he learned to venerate the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, and to abhor violence and threats of violence.

If we can defeat the attempts to curtail civil liberties and restore an atmosphere in which liberals, progressives, Socialists, Communists and all others are able to advance their own theories in the free market place of ideas, we can expect a better America.

I am shocked by the escapism of

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some fine liberal folks who reserve their chief indignation for the unfortunate developments in Czechoslovakia but who say little about what is happening to civil liberties in the US, or China, or Greece, or in the many other places where the United States is backing outworn, feudalistic regimes.

These liberals act as if they did not know what is really going on in the world. They should face facts. They should study the almost incredible invasions of civil liberties which have taken place here in the US in the past two years; the stories of the loyalty hearings as compiled by O. John Rogge and Bert Andrews; the record of the Un-American Activities Committee; the means used to keep the New Party off the ballot. The focal point for an honest and courageous liberal must be on these problems here at home, if we are ever to see a democratic world.

I said to one of these shortsighted liberals, who rode with me in a plane the other day, "It is men like you who will be responsible for war if it comes." They are fundamentally decent people, and eventually they will know they made a mistake. I hope the awakening will come before they contribute to world chaos.

As I began to write this article on July 4, 1948, I had just read over again the Declaration of Independence, and I realize that the battle of the progressives today against the monopolists and warmongers is remarkably like that of the Founding Fathers against George III.

On this July 4 there was talk that General Eisenhower might accept a Democratic nomination engineered by the same men who put Truman across in 1944, the men who are now trying to cut the throat of the man they made —talk which was dashed by Eisenhower's repudiation the next day. I never had anything personally against Truman, but I was troubled about the forces which put him over as vice-presidential nominee in 1944. Nevertheless I so valued the 12 years of work by Roosevelt that I campaigned for the ticket at my own expense throughout the US.

James Farley, who always complained that Franklin Roosevelt was an ingrate, will be interested to know that on November 27, 1944, Roosevelt wrote me as follows:

Dear Henry:

I do not think there is any man in America who understands the meaning of the campaign we won this year better than you, and I am sure that no man gave so much of himself to its success. I am grateful to you, not only for what you did, but also for what you are in the meaning of my administration and its purpose for the people.

There will be people who will explain and explain away the reasons for our success at the polls. You and I know that we won only because we have stood and must stand for those things closest to the hearts of the people. They voted, I think, for a faith, in the confidence that we would carry that faith forward to full victory for freedom on this earth and to the use of our full powers for plenty here at home. We can be proud of the manner in which we have advanced the stakes of human dignity and security in the past. We must recognize the imperative in the continuing advance to which the people have assigned us.

I am writing you, not only in thanks for your help, but to say that I count upon it in the great tasks ahead, to which America has dedicated its purpose and its future.

Always sincerely,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Truman was also grateful for assistance in the '44 campaign. Every conference I had with him was completely harmonious. He agreed with everything I said. He really believed in my Madison Square Garden speech of September, 1946, but unfortunately, and almost unwittingly, he had already fallen under the control of the Big Brass and the Big Gold, as well as the forces represented by Churchill of England, Byrnes of South Carolina and Vandenberg of Michigan. If he had followed his heart, the Democratic Party could have placed the US at the head of the peace forces of the world. He could have done this without appeasement of Russia.

This would have been the Roosevelt program. Roosevelt had been in school with Big Gold at Groton and Harvard. He had seen the limitations of both Big Brass and Big Gold during World War I. He knew Winston Churchill for what he was. He knew the wealthy and powerful for what they are. Truman looked up to them and was taken in by them. And now those he served express their ingratitude toward him.

Never has the chaos of bipartisanship reached such a pitch. The Republicans ran a Democrat for President in 1940. Earl Warren won the Democratic nomination for Governor of California, and less than two months ago, Truman referred to him as a Democrat. Vandenberg and Dulles are every bit as much responsible for the Democratic foreign policy of cold war and rearmament as the Democrats themselves. The climax came when the reactionary elements in the Democratic Party went all out for a man who, so far as they know, has never voted for a Democrat in his entire life. The fact that he was for rearmament and did not vigorously oppose segregation in the armed forces was all they needed to know. When politics is based on personalities instead of principles, there is bound to be chaos. The New Party is going to end all this by giving the people a chance to vote for something decisively different from either of the old parties.

So I say, not "Hail and Farewell," but "Farewell and Hail!" I am bidding my faithful readers goodbye in one capacity, but I shall sooner or later be seeing them in another. The fight for peace and friendship and greater productivity without fear, for all the peoples of the world, has still only begun. The conscience of the American people has not yet been fully touched, but it will be. That is what this forthcoming campaign is all about. Progressivism did not die with Roosevelt. We shall carry on. We shall educate. We shall organize. We shall vote. On you and me hangs the issue of Life in One World or Death in many compartments.

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THE LEGION'S AMERICANISM

Child-welfare programs are "socialistic"; UNESCO is "subversive"; Elizabeth Dilling "helpful" to the men who lead the American Legion

by Justin Gray

With this article, Justin Gray, former Assistant Director of the American Legion's Americanism Commission, concludes his New Republic series on the men and ideas that control America's largest veterans' organization.

THE PUDGY MAN with the round, bald head got to his feet.

"I wonder how many of you realize," he said to the handful of men in the hotel room with him, "that communism not only is a menace to the United States today, but has been throughout our country's history. The first attempt at communism in the United States occurred at the Jamestown Colony in Virginia. That's a historic fact that our organization should, as a patriotic service, publicize throughout the country."

"How did it come out?" someone asked.

"It ended with the Jamestown men eating all the women," the man said. No one laughed or argued with him.

That dialogue was actually spoken on June 3, 1946, in Room 707 of the Hotel Antlers in Indianapolis. The speaker was Paul H. Griffith of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, a public-relations man who was elected National Commander of the American Legion four months later. The listeners were a group of American Legion leaders meeting to brief the new assistant director of the Legion's Americanism Commission on his duties.

I was that new assistant director.

The meeting was called by John Stelle, then the National Commander. Attending it, in addition to Stelle and Griffith, were Elmer W. ("Doc") Sherwood, the paid director of the Americanism program; Robert Webb, chairman of the Americanism program; Archie Clossen, a power in the Legion in California and an active campaigner against "subversive" groups on the West Coast; and one or two others.

Griffith's wild claims were consistent with the tone of the evening. Stelle started the meeting with a tirade against the United Nations. He climaxed his remarks with the statement, which he was later to use publicly: "We ought to aim an atomic rocket right at Moscow—and save one for Tito, too."

Many of the remarks made in the course of the evening by these Legion leaders were nearly as irresponsible as Griffith's Jamestown reference. The Endicott-Johnson Shoe Company was called Communistic because of its profit-sharing system. A Midwest college professor was denounced as a Communist because he had been seen "walking down the street with a Negro." Not once during the whole night's discussion on subversive activities did these Legion leaders ever mention the word "Fascism."

I have described the Hotel Antlers meeting in some detail because it typified a kind of thinking that has made the American Legion the greatest single organized menace to democracy in the United States today. Under the guise of fighting communism, the Legion's leaders are embarked on a program with many of the trimmings that Hitler made famous.

Most of the Legion's activities that threaten the civil rights of American citizens center, ironically enough, around the Legion's program of "100-percent Americanism."

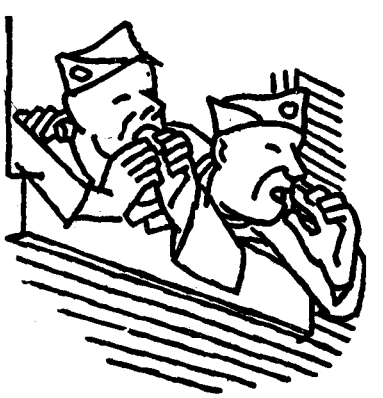
In 1938, when the House Committee on Un-American Activities was first set up, the Legion's National Commander, Stephen F. Chadwick, called for support for Martin Dies, then the committee chairman. Chadwick went on to assert that the Dies committee was appointed at the request of the Legion.

Legion coöperation with the FBI is even closer than with the House committee. One of J. Edgar Hoover's chief inspectors, Lee R. Pennington, is specifically assigned as liaison man. Pennington constantly exchanges material on "subversive elements" with the Americanism Commission, has the run of Legion headquarters whenever he is in Indianapolis, often advises Legion leaders and is a constant influence and often a determiner of Legion policy.

One particularly interesting example of the influence the FBI, through Pennington, wields over the Legion can be found in the public records of the Ham Fish case.

In September, 1943, the Legion's national convention in Omaha passed a resolution that censured Fish, then a Republican Representative, for "abusing the franking privilege" by permitting his congressional postal frank to be used to spread "propaganda inimical to the United States." Fish was one of the original founders of the Legion. Specifically mentioned as having been allowed to use his frank were the America First Committee; George Sylvester Viereck, who served a jail sentence for being a Nazi propagandist; and C. Leon De Aryan, one of the group of Nazi sympathizers indicted for sedition by a federal grand jury.

Despite the evidence against Fish, he was defended at the convention by the Legion brass, who were unwilling



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DRAWINGS BY BERNARDA BRYSON

to see one of their number disgraced. But the average delegate would have none of it. Cries came from the floor, "No"—"Pin it on him"—"Call him by name." The resolution passed.

Less than three months after the membership had censured Fish, Pennington of the FBI wrote a note about the episode to Homer Chaillaux, then the Legion's national director of Americanism. Kidding in tone but serious in intent, the note expressed the none too subtle hope that the Legion leaders would find something better to do than pick on the Representative from New York.

The upshot of the whole affair was that at the very first meeting of the Legion's National Executive Committee, following the receipt of Pennington's letter, a resolution was passed which formally reversed the stand of the convention and gave Hamilton Fish a complete coat of whitewash.

The limited understanding of "Americanism" that permitted the Legion's leaders to stomach men like Dies, Viereck, De Aryan and Fish is due, to a considerable extent, to the influence of Chaillaux. A former letter carrier from Inglewood, California, he served as director of the National Americanism Commission from 1934 to 1945, and dominated the Legion hierarchy until his death in 1946.

Chaillaux was almost unbelievably irresponsible in his use of the "Red" brush. He tried to pin the Red label on the YMCA, and considered Mrs. Roosevelt an agent of the Kremlin. In testimony before the Federal Communications Commission, he accused Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter of being a Red because Frankfurter once defended "the bank-robber-murderers, Sacco and Vanzetti."

"The former Red Affiliate, Albert Einstein," was another on Chaillaux's list. Carl Becker's *Modern History* and certain volumes by Charles A. Beard were called un-American and subversive. Chaillaux was the author of the Legion's bible on un-American activities, *Isms,* which, although written at the height of Nazi and Fascist fifth-column activity in the United States, devoted 15 pages to nazism and three pages to fascism, while using 255 pages to attack persons whom Chaillaux considered Reds.

Chaillaux even went so far at one time as to accuse Emma Puschner, the director of the Legion's own child-welfare program, of being a Communist because Chaillaux thought child welfare smacked of "Socialism."

Unfortunately, Chaillaux's ghost remains much in evidence. Irresponsibility still characterizes the Legion's Americanism program. This is most apparent in the filing system on "subversive activities" that the Legion has established at national headquarters in Indianapolis.

Some of the material is cached away in the Legion's main library. The more secret stuff, however, is kept in locked compartments in the Americanism offices. This "subversive activities" material is subdivided into three basic files:

1. A subject or organizational file, in which there are folders on hundreds of organizations—Communist, Socialist, pacifist, religious—but very few on the fascist side of the ledger.

2. A collection of newspapers, periodicals, speeches, leaflets, radio scripts and books of all kinds.

3. A cross-refefenced card file of persons the Legion considers subversive.

Every time the Legion obtains, from any source, data that it considers "suspect" about anyone, the information is noted down on a card bearing the subject's name. If your name happens to be included in that file, you are automatically considered subversive. This is true even though the information on the card might show nothing conclusive, which is most often the case. To get your name on a card you need do nothing more than make a speech that was quoted in the *Daily Worker,* the *New Republic* or *PM.*

Much of the material on which the card file is based is picked up by the Legion from newspaper reports and unsolicited correspondence. As might be expected, a great deal of it reaches the Legion through the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the FBI. The Legion has, in addition, agents of its own who work all over the country.

These people—some Legionnaires, some not—regularly send in material on persons in their own communities whom they consider subversive.

The irresponsibility of such a system, which uses untrained investigators, is obvious. The Legion makes no attempt to check the accuracy of the reports of its undercover agents. Nor does it define the character of the "subversive" qualities of those listed in its card index. A Norman Thomas disciple is exactly the same as a follower of William Z. Foster.

The most revealing of all the files at National Headquarters are those which contain the personal correspondence between the Legion leaders and their contacts and friends. I have seen a letter addressed to a Legion official

which identified Gerald L. K. Smith as "that fine Christian American," and another which defined Walter Winchell as "a Russian Jew and a Communist." Others praise the Ku Klux Klan while slandering FDR.

Not one of the letters from the lunatic fringe is thrown into the waste-paper basket. For instance, "Doc" Sherwood—my boss in charge of the

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Americanism Division—showed me copies of correspondence he had had with some crackpot who called the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) "dangerous and insidious."

Sherwood asked me to follow up this grotesque letter with research into the "subversive" potentialities of UNESCO!

Not only are the Legion brass hats in touch with the small fry in many un-American groups, but they are today also in direct contact with some of the most dangerous and calculating fascist-minded elements in the United States. Many of these contacts take on the character of personal friendships.

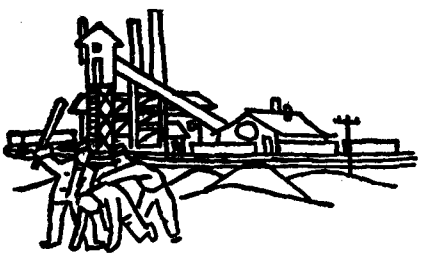
Typical of the ultra-reactionaries who have intimate ties with the Legion leadership is Harry A. Jung, "the Honorary General Manager" of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation with national headquarters in Chicago. Jung has joined hands with pro-fascist groups and individuals not only in America, but all over the world. In 1935 his publication, the *Vigilante,* was placed on the honor roll of the Nazi bulletin, *Welt-Dienst* (World Service), published in Erfurt, Germany.

So close is Jung's relation with the Legion brass that the Department Adjutants' list, the circulation of which is normally confined exclusively to Legion officers at the state and national level, is made available to him. Moreover, in pursuit of his own labor-baiting activities, he feels free to call upon Legion officials, and particularly upon the Americanism Commission, for information and help—and he always gets it. In return, the files of his own organization are open to the Legion's "experts" on un-Americanism.

Chaillaux had close personal relations with Joseph P. Kamp, a well-known hatemonger who, in July, 1942, and again in January, 1943, was indicted by federal grand juries for having conspired to break down the morale in the armed forces and thus "obstruct and defeat the war effort." The Constitutional Educational League which Kamp founded was named in both indictments as one of the main channels through which Nazi propaganda flowed into the United States.

During my post-job research, I uncovered correspondence showing that Kamp, at Chaillaux's direct request, supplied the Legion with thousands of his Red-baiting, labor-baiting pamphlets over a five-year period.

The long-term relationship between the Legion hierarchy and Jung and Kamp are symptomatic of the degen-



eration of the whole leadership. Evidence exists that connects Legion officials with such leaders of American fascist thought as George Deatherage, head of the Nazi-inspired Knights of the White Camellia; William Dudley Pelley, former leader of the Silver Shirt movement and now serving a jail sentence for sedition; James True, indicted by the US Government for sedition; and Mrs. Leslie Fry, who, with Deatherage, once attempted to unite all the fascist groups in the United States.

The Legion's official document on Un-American activities—*Isms*—gave thanks to Elizabeth Dilling for her help in amassing the material used in the book. Mrs. Dilling, in turn, defended herself against the charges that she was praised by the Nazi's *Welt-Dienst* by saying, "The American Legion has sold and recommended and read more of my books than any Germans." She was probably right.

The story of the Legion's fascist potentialities is incomplete without mention of American Action, Inc., the ultra-right-wing political-action group formed in Chicago in 1945 to promote the election of a reactionary Congress and President.

The national chairman of American Action, Inc., is Edward Arthur Hayes, who was the National Commander of the American Legion in 1934. Hayes's present assistant is Raymond J. Kelly, who was the Legion's national commander in 1940.

The pattern of coöperation between the pro-fascist forces in the United States and the Legion leadership is conclusive. Every year gives additional proof of this fact. Just as the Stahlhelm led the German veterans into the Nazi movement following World War I, the American Legion, under its present leadership, might well become the channel through which the American veterans were mobilized behind a fascist cause in this country.

This is no pipe dream. All "men of good will" in America should begin to give some serious consideration to the danger of allowing the American Legion to remain under its present leadership. Today, we can no longer turn our backs on potential fascism. The Legion leaders exist and they rule. They will not relinquish their control of the Legion membership unless strong, concerted pressure is brought to bear upon them—both from within and without the Legion.

It won't be easy. The Chaillaux mentality and traditions will not die without a fight. But unless the American Legion is freed from this type of leadership, the words of past National Commander Alvin Owsley may prove to be even truer than he realized.

"Do not forget," Owsley said, "that the Fascists are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States."

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

AUGURIES AND BALLOT BOXES

by Harold Wolff

AS ONE who usually makes a dollar betting and writing on elections, I view with somewhat mixed feelings the current wave of books about politics. It may never again be possible to find sitting-duck Republicans offering four-to-one odds that New Hampshire—just because it lies between Maine and Vermont, I suppose—will go Republican.

The meatiest of the publications is *How to Predict Elections,* by Louis H. Bean (Knopf; $2.50). Some people hunt rabbits for fun, or play pinochle. Bean, statistician, economist and Special Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, spends his spare time predicting elections. His record—not well known outside the trade—is remarkable; at times he has been earlier and more accurate than Gallup. And while the better-known pollsters have long since given up trying to predict congressional elections, Bean excels in that area. In 1946, for example, he foresaw a drop in Democratic strength to "between 43 and 45 percent of the House." In what was to most predicters an unforeseeable landslide, the actual outcome was 43 percent. But more important than equipping you to dazzle your friends with political fortune-telling, *How to Predict Elections* has some shrewd things to say about our political behavior.

The major swings in politics are related, according to Bean, to the state of business. Unemployment and slack business doom the party in power, and Bean goes to history to make the point that it matters little who the incumbents are. In 1873, 1908 and 1930, depression ousted the Republicans; in 1893, 1920 and 1938, a deterioration in the state of the public's pocketbook explains the Democratic losses. Bean's equation of the 1946 Republican victory with the fact that the voters were being squeezed by the upward price movement is an enticing speculation. Aside from these major trends, lesser fluctuations in business activity cause minor tremors on the seismograph. If the index of business activity—Bean uses the one published by the Cleveland Trust Company—rises 20 points between presidential elections, the party in power gains 35 to 40 seats; it loses that many seats if the index drops 20 points.

In these minor swings, another factor—political apathy—plays an important role. Readers may remember that in 1944, Bean published in the *New Republic* an article "What Republican Trend?," in which he challenged the notion that the 1942 Republican gains were the beginning of an anti-FDR shift. Bean ascribed the 1942 Democratic losses to the drop in turnout, and predicted that with a rise in the vote, the Democrats would fare better in 1944. He proved right on both counts, although the Republican National Committee argues with him on the cause-effect relationship.

Because in both presidential and congressional elections it is vital to know how each state conforms to the national pattern, the book then considers the voting behavior of the states. Some elaborate statistical high-hurdling provides him with a "flexibility" rating for each state, a measure of how much it changes when the national average swings 10 percent. In general, Northeastern states are the least flexible and the West Coast and the tier from Wisconsin to the Dakotas are the most flexible. Flexibility is important in the making of political swings, and also in third-party movements.

From his study of the states, Bean computes a table showing how each state votes as the national balloting rises and falls. With 52 percent of the popular vote, the Democrats win enough states to carry the election. At 55 percent, the Democrats capture 427 votes. At 58, all but three states are in the Democratic column.

In 1936, for example, figures showed that we were on a rising Democratic tide, with no business crisis around to reverse the trend. That led Bean to the conclusion that the Democrats would poll 60 percent of the popular vote. There were no business, religious or international factors in sight to make particular states misbehave. With all states in their normal position, and 60 percent of the vote for FDR, Bean's tables showed that only Maine, Vermont and Pennsylvania would go Republican, a prediction that was better than most, and off only on Pennsylvania.

How to Predict Elections is of necessity heavy with high-level mathematics. What makes the book good fun in spots is some excursions into prediction whimsy. Bean revives the old "As Maine goes, so goes the nation," and shows that it really works. When Maine goes to the polls on September 15 to elect its congressmen, take the vote and calculate from the turnout and the trends what Maine's presidential vote is likely to be. Check with the Gallup Poll for Maine, if one is available. Then add 15 percent, and you will have a prediction of the national popular vote. From that, with Bean's tables, you can estimate the electoral vote.

An amusing detour is labeled: "As Kelly goes, so goes the nation." For years, Bean has studied the relation between the vote for Mayor Kelly of Chicago and the vote in the next presidential contest. Another light touch is the Bean Poll, Inc., a fictitious alternative to the Gallup and

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Roper organizations, which uses some simpler techniques. For example, it takes all the counties in the US named "Adams"—there are 11 of them—and shows that political sentiment in those areas is as good an indicator of nationwide voting as any of the elaborate polls.

The real story that Bean has to tell, however, is lost by dazzling it with the crystal-ball approach. As an astute observer of US politics, Bean is a pioneer in the emerging science of political behavior, and stripped of his prediction motif, the book is a top-notch contribution to the understanding of how and why people behave as they do when they draw the curtains of a polling booth.

Another contribution in the same field is *The Gallup Political Almanac for 1948* (American Institute of Public Opinion; $4.50). It is the best available compilation of past performance in politics, with studies of the voting by state, county and congressional district in recent elections. Gallup puts together some interesting and important figures to document hitherto vague notions on the relation of age to political affiliation, the correlation of occupation and union affiliation with voting.

Not so all-inclusive but more thought-provoking is *The People's Choice: How the Public Makes Up Its Mind*, by Paul F. Lazarsfeld (Columbia; $2.50), a new edition of which, with added recent material, will be available just before the election. A study of political behavior in Erie County, Pennsylvania, during the 1940 elections, it has all the qualities of a good whodunit as it penetrates the statistical record to find out how the voter behaves. In a thoughtful chapter on the "Social Differences Between Republicans and Democrats," Lazarsfeld documents the point that lower economic groups are more Democratic than the upper-income voters. He tears apart the notion that labor votes as an occupational group by proving that workers vote according to their economic status, rather than by the way in which they earn their incomes.

The People's Choice points up the prevalence of political boredom, and analyzes the non-voter. The lower economic brackets, particularly the women, are the bulk of the non-voters, this study shows.

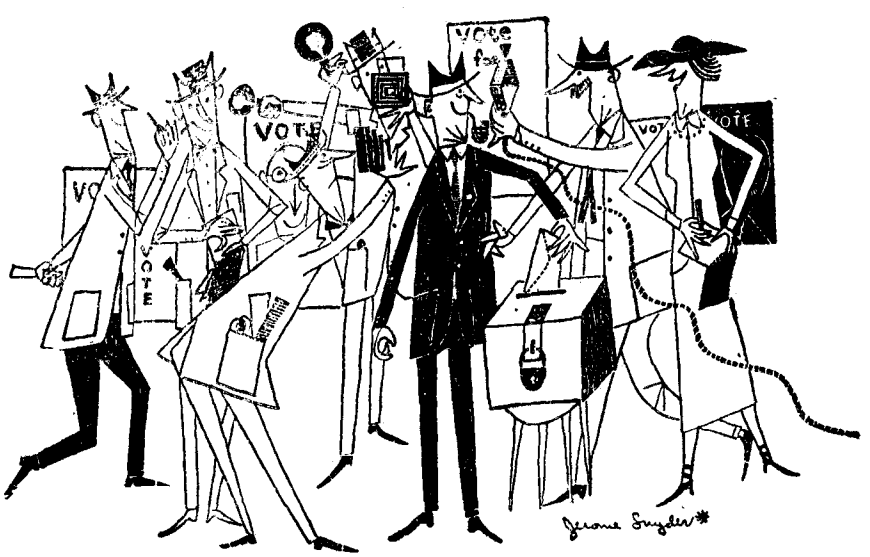
But more than anything else, *The People's Choice* is important as a study of the things that sway the voter. More than half the voters have made their minds up before the nominating conventions. By August, most of the rest have decided. Only a handful of votes are won or lost in the last stretch of frantic campaigning.

What influences the voters? Magazines are the most partisan, with a three-to-one Republican bias, and radio and newspapers, which favor the Republicans two to one. Most people were exposed only to the propaganda of their own sides.

All of these books—rooted as they are in the statistical approach—are necessarily based on the assumption that the future performance of the electorate can be predicted from the past. Perhaps, but it cannot be proved. The facts we have to go on are, for the most part, the elections in which Roosevelt was a factor, and the personality and political talent of The Chief cannot be reduced to figures. For example, he welded the labor and minority groups into relatively solid blocks of votes, and was able to add them to the city-machine vote to pile up immense majorities in urban areas. But with the passing of Roosevelt, the coalition has broken up. This campaign and the four years that follow it may see some new political loyalties which are unpredictable on the basis of anything the statisticians have to work with.

As all these writers suggest, economic considerations underly our politics. In the past, the issues of boom and bust have been relatively clear. But never in history have we had a period of prosperity accompanied by such deep discontent. Can the Republicans manufacture that into a GOP tide? What are they going to to do to stem inflation? And if they don't, then what? Will the people turn to the Democrats or to a third party? Those are political dynamics that the statistical approach can't help us predict. And the more you penetrate behind the figures, the less sure you are that Bean or Gallup or Roper is on very firm ground.

More specifically, look at the special groups. Only one-third of CIO members register, and only one-fourth of them vote, according to a recent report. What would happen to the political predicters if the political action of labor groups should get some of these people to the polls between now and November? And what about the so-called "Jewish vote"? If it



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should perform en masse, it will upset applecarts. So will the Negro vote. In another recent political tome, *Balance of Power,* Henry Lee Moon establishes the fact that the Negro vote is potentially the deciding factor in 75 congressional districts outside the South. In eight states, it can swing the electoral vote.

As more Negroes go to the polls, and as political education grows among them, is there anyone who can predict whether this vote will go en bloc to one candidate or be divided as *non-Negroes apportion their ballots?*

The one thing the statistical approach to politics does establish is the political potency of the 40 million or so eligible non-voters. From past performance, we know that they are mostly people in the lower economic groups, a large number of them women whose husbands tend to vote Democrat. Many of them are trade-union members, statistically supporters of the right-of-center candidates. They are predominantly city-dwellers. Should any large part of these abstainers register and go to the polls, political prediction would become really precarious. Or look at the obverse of the turnout problem. Will Dewey be able to get people to go to the polls? He didn't do much of a job in '44, and it is doubtful that the popular enthusiasm for him has grown. All the pro-Eisenhower polls showed that. So how large a vote will it take to beat Dewey? And how large a vote will Wallace get? And from whom will he draw?

These are the imponderables in our political performance that the techniques borrowed from soap-selling can't answer. Under fairly constant conditions during the Roosevelt regime, the political predicters did rather well. But the minority groups, or the non-voters, or Wallace, could make life miserable for the experts this year, and even more so during the years of political reorientation that lie just beyond. And nothing proves that more than the books the predicters write. Read them, and see how hard you are to second-guess.

THE CREATIVE YEARS

THE AGE OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION, by Dixon Wecter (The Macmillan Company; $5).

THE OUTSTANDING QUALITY of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Administration was its creative imagination. In a day when national doubt and bewilderment had taken the place of the boisterous old optimism, bold ideas, original conceptions and an adventurous willingness to try new methods were required to restore the enterprise of the American spirit. With what vitality and in what abundance these imperative qualities were demonstrated is shown in detail by Dixon Wecter in *The Age of the Great Depression,* a careful and detailed study of the period between the Wall Street collapse and the attack on Pearl Harbor.

In this ledger, the credits and the debits are presented with equal candor. The author sees the failures, the weaknesses, the confusion, the hasty improvisation and the frequent futility of the far from well-prepared Administration that took over from the cautious, unimaginative Hoover and set out to provide both recovery and thoroughgoing reform to a confused and bewildered nation. While he makes no attempt to conceal the mistakes and can be vigorously and outspokenly hostile upon occasion, he makes one thing unmistakably clear. The New Deal may not have been a complete success in its program for either recovery or reform, its improvisations may often have been hasty, ill-thought-out and confused in conception. But it came to power in a nation that was close to despair and had seemingly lost its ability to fight back, and gave it hope, courage and a new spirit of daring.

To Roosevelt, says Wecter, "the waste of the nation's human and natural resources seemed far more real and grave than the fiscal extravagances which scandalized most of his critics." The author quotes, as indicative of FDR's attitude toward the problems he faced, his speech at Oglethorpe University before he became President: "It is common sense to take a method and try it," he said. "If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But, above all, try something. The millions who are in want will not stand by silently forever while the things to satisfy their needs are within easy reach."

The New Deal, Wecter points out, "was not an explicit program drafted under Roosevelt's direction in 1932 or even fully conceived at his inauguration, but rather a general attitude toward government for the people, later embodied in action and shaped by the urgency of circumstance." Bent upon bringing about a living wage, reasonable leisure, economic security for the masses and the restraint of uncurbed wealth and power for a small and privileged group, it was the purpose of the New Deal to "apply legislation to those fields where private enterprise had failed to accept proper responsibility for the social consequences of its act." And, as Roosevelt noted, among the spiritual fathers of the New Deal course of action was no less a presumptive hero of his enemies than Abraham Lincoln, who had said that "the legitimate object of government is to do for the community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities."

Looking back on the days when Roosevelt was virtually unknown, it is interesting to recall the appraisals, by men who soon learned better, of one who "seemed too urbane to be a voice crying in the wilderness." Most famous, perhaps, was Walter Lippmann's dismissal of the New York Governor in his newspaper column on January 8, 1932: "No tribune of the people . . . no enemy of entrenched privilege . . . a pleasant man who, without any important qualification for the office, would very much like to be President." Then there was Herbert Hoover's ominous warning that, under Roosevelt and his proposed lower tariff, "the grass will grow in streets of a hundred cities, a thousand towns; the weeds overrun the fields of millions of farms." The Hoover prediction is even

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more ironic when Wecter observes that by taking "the responsibility for lifting the nation's economic mechanism back on the tracks of prosperity, by attempting to raise farm prices and underpin wages, create jobs and 'prime the pump' by public works, spread employment by fostering shorter hours and regulate the value of the dollar," Roosevelt was merely doing on a large, imaginative and courageously creative scale what Hoover, in his grudging and half-hearted fashion, and to the accompaniment of an entirely different social and political philosophy, was cautiously feeling after.

The most scornfully criticized of the Roosevelt recovery methods was the plowing-under of crops and the killing of baby pigs, an attempt to effect the reduced output first advocated by President Hoover's Federal Farm Board. Today, of course, that scheme of pig slaughter is pointed to as one of those mad ideas of Henry Wallace and proof of his presumed fatuity.

It is valuable to have *The Age of the Great Depression* recall that, as Secretary of Agriculture, Wallace called the destruction of farm products and livestock "a shocking commentary on our civilization" and defended it only by adding that, while it should never happen again, he felt that "desperate conditions warranted desperate measures." The author adds wryly that New Dealers saw this expedient as "more defensible than industry's policy of plowing under millions of surplus workers in 1930-1932." Wecter also admires Wallace's plan for the Ever Normal Granary, a program in which by 1940 some six million farmers were coöperating.

In view of such proofs as he provides of Wallace's vision and good sense, it is a little surprising to find Wecter speaking later of "Henry Wallace, brash oracle on many subjects." There are, indeed, many details on which the author might be criticized—among them his statement that in the early days of the talking film moviegoers experienced "the delight of hearing the voices of stars long adored in silent film," when actually they fled from those old favorites in considerable dismay. But, despite errors of detail, Wecter has written a valuable and important book. It is a balanced survey of all aspects—social, economic, political and cultural—of the Roosevelt Administration, and it demonstrates again that it was one of the great creative periods in American history.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

WORTH REPRINTING

THE IMMORALIST, by André Gide (Alfred A. Knopf; $2.50).

FIRST LOVE, by Ivan Turgenev. Translated by Constance Garnett (Lear Publishers; $3.50).

SINCE ITS PUBLICATION in 1902, *The Immoralist* has figured as an important document in the various formulations of the Gidean "doctrine." In a preface to the novel, Gide writes, "I seemed indeed within an ace of being confounded with [its hero]." But he disclaims any special pleading, and denies that his drama "tried to prove anything." Further, it is "as little an indictment as an apology." In his *Journals* he gives us the hint when he calls it "the twin" of *Straight Is the Gate*. It is the reverse side of his study of the Puritan conscience.

At the same time, the book *is* the history of a "doctrine," of its evolution in a particular person amid special circumstances. Michel is a young scholar who narrowly escapes death from grave illness on his wedding trip. During his convalescence, he experiences both a "tragic realization of my life" before his illness, and a passionate belief that he has been born again from death "a new self," capable of becoming "harmonious, sensuous, almost beautiful."

In exploring this "new self," he knew that whatever it might turn out to be could only prove the opposite of his old self, the disciplined scholar of habit and conviction which his strict Puritanical upbringing had produced. "I thenceforward set out to discover . . . 'the old Adam,' whom the Gospel had repudiated, whom everything about me—books, masters, parents, and I myself had begun by attempting to suppress." He embarks on a deliberate experiment in error, hoping to find his way back, along the reversal of every former standard in his life, to some "unknown and vaguely imagined perfection." In his former conduct he saw only futility and death. "What can man do more? . . . Is there nothing in himself he has overlooked? Can he do nothing but repeat himself? . . . And every day there grew stronger in me a confused consciousness of untouched treasures somewhere lying covered up, hidden, smothered by culture and decency and morality."

He explored, imaginatively at least, all those quarters where he hoped to discover these "treasures." "The society of the lowest dregs of humanity was delectable company to me." He cultivated an ideal of passionate, uncontrolled sensuality and of concomitant physical perfection. When his wife became ill, he noted: "Disease had taken hold of Marceline, never again to leave her; it had marked her, stained her. Henceforth she was a thing that had been spoiled." When she remarked, dying, that Michel's doctrine "does away with the weak," he answered, "And so it should!"

All through his "dark and mysterious researches," Michel is obsessed with a frenzy to discover the *secret* in evil. He watches the laborers on his estate with "an evil curiosity," and he "is never satisfied" in his relations with people until he has made them "exhibit some vice." This is the obscene nostalgia, the intimation that somewhere beyond the deliberately disordered senses there is a revelation, diabolical arcana, a kind of reverse of the mystic state. It is the reward demanded in Michel's boast: "What gives me my special value? It is a kind of stubborn perseverance in evil." He perseveres until he has "freed myself. . . . But what does it signify? This objectless liberty is a burden to me." He finds in evil only a negation of his self and weakly begs, "Give me some reason for living: I have none left."

There are great beauties in the

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book, descriptions of places, of nature, of the seasons, and of physical happiness. They skillfully support the perversity of Michel's disintegration. But the remarkable thing about it is that almost all of the hero's story takes place in his *will,* with very little extension of this will into demonstrated action. This is much more effective than any attempted description of gaudy and lurid sins; the "problem" is reduced to its essentials, to the interior Satanic cry, "I will not serve!"

First Love is a volume of three short novels. Besides the title story, it includes *The Diary of a Superfluous Man* and *Acia.* It is prefaced by notes on Turgenev by Henry James, Joseph Conrad and Prosper Mérimée. The elements of the volume are well-chosen and combined. First of all, James's essay is a beautiful eulogy, an exercise for which he was particularly gifted, with his reverence for life and intense appreciation and affection for individual character. All three notes make critical points which are illustrated by the stories, and the stories themselves form a unity.

They are all stories of "first love," of "sweet emotions, gentle harmony, goodness and peace of the softened heart, melting bliss of the first raptures of love." All three loves are recalled in the perspective of defeat. The distance achieved from their subjects colors them with fantasy, idealized youth, reverie and romance. The defeat implicit in them gives their narration (each in the first person) a peculiar irony which is the combination of intelligence and futility. An irony "without any bitterness," however, for the perspective, again, mitigates the pain even while it pervades the tales with sadness. It is the perspective of "the point of death," and the conclusion to these tales of youth is, "Yes, it is good, good to be rid, at last, of the wearing sense of life, of the persistent, restless consciousness of existence!" The beauty is of nuances, illusion, memory, and over all is the recognition of their ephemeral nature, pointing, again, the sadness: "The faint fragrance of an insignificant plant outlives all man's joys and sorrows—outlives man himself."

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that these pieces are slight, or vague, or wistful impressionist exercises. The stories (particularly the first two) are substantial; the characterization is brilliant; the lively critical intelligence braces the narrative with such astringent insights as "Falsehood is just as living as truth, if not more so." Finally, there is the incidental but incalculable interest of Turgenev's nationalism. James's comment, published in 1888, is significant: "His genius for us is the Slav genius; his voice the voice of those vaguely imagined multitudes whom we think of more and more today as waiting their turn, in the arena of civilization, in the grey expanses of the North."

JOHN FARRELLY

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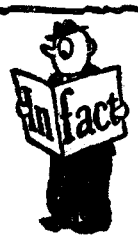

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RADIO

A Mixed Haul

IT'S DISH-NIGHT on the air. Three major networks have added some 35 new swag-bag programs to their schedules in the two or three months since ABC hit the jackpot with "Stop the Music," and only NBC has steered clear of this type of customer-bait.

A swag-bag, if you've forgotten, is a show that gives customers a financial incentive to listen, regardless of the program's intrinsic value. The neighborhood movie houses dropped this type of box-office attraction some time ago, but "Stop the Music" has pushed Fred Allen off his lofty perch among Hooper's First Fifteen. The same week that Allen went to his summer pasture a sad and bitter man, a lady from Brooklyn dropped by the "Stop the Music" office to collect $20,000 worth of negotiable merchandise.

I refuse to rail against these shows. If they waste the public's time, the public has a remedy as close at hand as the dial on its set. ABC, Mutual and CBS could have their social consciences prodded, but I suppose we shall have to wait until the disease runs its course.

That $20,000 given away by "Stop the Music" is the largest gift yet recorded. Mutual's "Three for the Money" says you can win as much as $50,000, all in cold cash. CBS's "Sing It Again" has just given away a mere $3,000 worth of merchandise for the identification, as owner of the "phantom voice," of a man about as highly regarded as any in American civic life today. The game was played successfully; the lady won honestly; America's elder statesman proved himself human and sporting. If Bernard Baruch wasn't embarrassed by his performance, probably none of the rest of us should be.

The new code of "ethics" adopted by the National Association of Broadcasters, at the insistence of President Justin Miller, outlaws programs that

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depend completely upon gifts as snares for listenership. It might be interesting to get an NAB decision on how complete is 100 percent.

Over at NBC a really important show, "Radio City Playhouse," has been recently introduced. Harry W. Junkin, of whom I had not heard before, is directing that program and writing more than half its scripts. For his première, Junkin did a 30-minute drama called "Long Distance." It was a play that could have been twisted into a caricature of every tear-jerking soap opera on the air, but Junkin guided Jan Miner, an old hand at radio theatre, in a mood of tight-reined artistry. It was a credit to both of them.

"Playhouse" has been scheduled as a summer fill-in (Saturday nights at 10). I think—at least, I hope—Junkin will be the radio discovery of the year. NBC found him producing shows in French and English in Montreal.

The folder marked "New Shows, for review" is bulging, but aside from the NBC offering there is nothing really exciting. ABC has a couple of packages—"Superstition" and "Comedy Writers' Show"—which take up an hour Saturday nights from 9:30 on. The best thing I can say about the first is that Bernard Green, the man who did the music on the Henry Morgan show, makes listenable sounds between the insignificant scenes. The comedy writers are men who write gags for people like Bob Hope, Eddie Cantor, Abbott and Costello, and Red Skelton. Here, they are supposed to ad-lib gags for themselves. It's an hon-

est way to make a living, but not a very amusing one.

On the ABC network, watch Earl Godwin, Sundays at 6:30, doing a weekly commentary sponsored by the Arabian American Oil Company. Middle East oil, as such, is scarcely a consumer product, so it will be interesting to see what ARAMCO will expect Godwin to sell. Nothing about our little burnoosed brothers has appeared in the script as yet, but the program is scarcely broken in.

There is a new 15-minute commentary, on NBC, that may interest you for the featured personality, Dizzy Dean. Until now, Dean has raised the hackles only of Missouri school teachers, who have objected to his abuse of the English language in his broadcasts of the St. Louis Browns. Now Dizzy is on coast-to-coast, talking about baseball at 5:15 Saturdays.

Another new one, on CBS, is "It's Always Albert," Fridays at 8:30. It is a male version of the same network's very successful situation comedy, "My Friend Irma." In this case, the clumsiness of somebody's perpetually unemployed brother Albert must produce the laughs. Come to think of it, CBS's comedy show, "mr. ace and JANE," also features a brother sensitive to work. "Albert" will have to stop leaning on his neighbors if he is to get anywhere, even as played by the very amusing Arnold Stang ("Gerard" of the Henry Morgan show).

Cy Howard, the man who made a success of CBS's "Irma," has serious ambitions. He has written a new program, "Little Immigrant," which the network is scheduling for early fall. It is the story of an Italian immigrant, enamored of America and sometimes awkwardly tangled in situations arising from his green approach to her customs. On the basis of the audition record, I believe that when it shakes down, has some of the dampness squeezed out, and its characterization sharpened, "Little Immigrant" will prove one of the rare shows that wraps a message in a comedy format. Its debut will be announced soon.

SAUL CARSON

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THEATRE

IN THE TWENTIES, Gilbert Seldes wrote a book on what he called the "seven lively arts." Some of us were inclined to scoff at his learned lucubrations on lowbrow amusements. We were wrong. If we show no regard for the muses' poor relations, we shall never truly know the family itself.

Kay Thompson was a sensation at the costly Le Directoire night club all season and is now wowing them at the Blackstone in Chicago. She will be equally successful throughout the country. For she is quite literally a "brief and abstract chronicle" of her time. She is a consummate performer. She deserves study.

Do not expect me, however, to follow this statement with a report on the amount and quality of the laughter she provokes. She convulses her audiences—she is greatly aided in this by the presence of the Williams Brothers, a remarkable quartet of bright zanies—but, without putting too fine a point on it, she terrified me. "Sliced Steel" would be a fitting title for her act.

Shortly after I saw Miss Thompson I had to ask the lady who invited me to Le Directoire what the Thompson numbers were about: I had forgotten the words, or rather I barely grasped them, as the performer shot them at us. When Groucho Marx, Fred Allen or even Ethel Merman are called funny, we refer to their material as well as to the manner of its delivery. With Kay Thompson, the manner is all.

One number has to do with the varieties of entertainment that constitute show business. Parodies of burlesque, opera and Noel Cowardish comedy are interpolated. I cannot affirm that any of these were particularly brilliant in execution or content. Another number was a ballad of a Brooklyn floosie that may have been wicked after the fashion of night-club lore, but my memory retains no single gem of epigrammatic buffoonery.

Kay Thompson has a long, narrow head topped by corn-colored hair drawn tightly behind it to emphasize its sharp, incisive lines. Her skin is handsomely burnished by a superb cosmetic job which appears to cover a rather tough epidermis. Her long, lean frame describes a swift, metallic descent to the fine points of her high-heeled footgear. This amazing shaft of energy, which resembles a bladelike instrument rather than a body, is accentuated by the shimmering material of her jersey blouse and a pair of ultra-chic black slacks. The waist is as trim as a delicately hard machine part. The effect of this costume is not masculine; it suggests the feminine with a deftly epicene touch.

The approach to the audience is erect and direct with a kind of horizontal thrust like a lightning-fast projectile. The performer hits us like a piston—unyielding, merciless, clean, as if with a series of impersonal, incessant, rhythmically even jabs. There is an ineffable elegance in the operation. There is punishment in this pleasure, but it is all so neatly done that we cannot protest; we can only admire. Efficiency is the ultimate beauty of our society.

Miss Thompson punctuates her numbers by a special glancing slap of her hands. That slap seems at once to conclude the different parts of her act, to polish off her audience, to give the signal for applause. We respond like educated robots. The Williams boys pant, writhe, grimace and grin in what is at once thorough appreciation and calculated mockery of the star. They remind me somehow of the serpents in the Laocoön (only they are college-boy types), while the central figure around whom they twist remains blithe and unaffected. A faint perspiration like an expensive dew glimmers on the lady's intelligent brow and smiling, superior lip.

Kay Thompson's act has the gayety

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of an electric shock. No lush store beauty she. No sentimental curved doll; no dished-up sexpot. She is far too up-to-date for that. As we are about to conjecture what her appeal might be, she reminds us with acid humor that it isn't the traditional animal allure. Whatever her origin, Kay Thompson is the American pioneer woman become a precision machine of entertainment—all will, energy, shrewdness and speed. She is a streamlined abstraction designed to please the prosperous, '48-model American male, and to serve as a wise fool for his female counterpart. Kay Thompson knows better than anyone what she's doing and where she's going. She makes me a little sad.

HAROLD CLURMAN

MUSIC: Two Recent Books

MOST GREAT ARTISTS find it almost impossible to be articulate about the qualities which make their art great. Lotte Lehmann, the distinguished soprano, is in some measure an exception to the rule. Two years ago, in a volume called *More Than Singing*, she dealt with the requisites for interpreting German *Lieder*. If her language tended to be flowery and metaphorical, at least she made a strong case for her belief that sensitivity to the imagery and imaginative details of a poetic text is as necessary to success in singing a *Lied* as musical understanding or good voice production.

In her second book on interpretation (*My Many Lives*; New York: Boosey and Hawkes; $3.75), Mme. Lehmann thinks back over several of the many operatic roles she sang before encroaching age made her abandon them in favor of the less stentorian demands of recital singing. Wagnerian parts—Elsa in "Lohengrin," Elisabeth in "Tannhäuser," Eva in "Die Meistersinger" and Sieglinde in "Die Walküre"—occupy much of her attention, though some non-Wagnerian heroines (among them her unforgettable Marschallin in "Der Rosenkavalier," the only role she still occasionally sings, and the name part of Massenet's "Manon," an opera in which she never appeared in this country) keep the book from seeming overspecialized.

Through the device of telling the plot of each opera from the point of view of the part she took in it, Mme. Lehmann offers extraordinary insight into the motivations and human relationships of the characters. Each chapter, with its rich perceptions, its anecdotes and its memories of the practical difficulties she encountered in preparing and performing a particular role, adds a new dimension to one's understanding of opera.

The style is readable and fluent, and the queenly yet modest self-assurance of Mme. Lehmann is at all times a model of what a prima donna's attitude and tone ought to be. I liked *My Many Lives* better than its predecessor, partly because its materials are larger in scope, but principally because the florid writing has been largely eliminated.

Another recent book which presents its subject life-size is Victor I. Seroff's *The Mighty Five* (New York: Allen, Towne and Heath; $4), an account of the "invincible band" of five nineteenth-century Russian nationalists who undertook to emancipate Russian music from dependence upon the traditions of Western Europe. Although *The Mighty Five* reads as briskly as a novel, there is no fiction in it. There are, however, many startling facts which until now have been unknown to readers in English.

Far from being a happy group of selfless idealists devoting their lives to an idealistic cause, the members of the Mighty Five were arrant individualists pursuing separate courses and often fighting with one another. Their public front gave an impression of unanimity, but this was not much more than a façade, and it soon began to crumble.

Balakirev, the founder and original moving spirit of the group, was also the chief cause of its disintegration. A vain, narcissistic esthete, he gradually lost his hold not only on his younger colleagues but upon himself as well, lapsing into a spineless mysticism which put an end to both his composing and his social usefulness. Borodin, a professor of chemistry, was almost entirely preoccupied by his teaching and the necessity for coping with the hordes of relatives who overran his home and robbed him of peace and privacy. It was nothing short of a miracle that he was ever able to compose "Prince Igor."

Moussorgsky, the most original of the Five, was often at swords' points with his associates because of their disapproval of the primitivist style he brought to perfection in "Boris Godounov." He turned into an alcoholic and a gutter-rat, and died in his early forties. Cui, musically the least gifted of the group, devoted himself mainly to criticism and the cultivation of the social amenities; his membership was an anomaly from the first. The only really steady performer of the quintet was Rimsky-Korsakov, who proceeded —once he had shaken off an adolescent attachment to Balakirev which was as much personal as it was musical— to polish the gleaming exterior of his essentially superficial music until he was able in his latter years to produce a minor masterpiece in "The Golden Cockerel."

These wayward personalities, and many others as well, come to life in extraordinary fashion in Seroff's pages. He depicts them coolly and honestly and with compassion, but with neither special pleading nor whitewash. Since criticism of their music is not Seroff's purpose, he avoids personal judgments, though obviously he is thoroughly acquainted with the output of the group. You are not likely to run across a saner or more enlightening popular treatment of a musical movement than *The Mighty Five*. Certainly, you will not find a more absorbing one.

CECIL SMITH

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What Is a Liberal?

SIR: Many people contend that the word "liberal" has been used so loosely that it has lost all meaning. Others, like the editor of my home-town paper, quote approvingly the hackneyed definition of a liberal as "someone who is liberal with other people's money."

I heartily disagree with both views. . . . The modern American political liberal may be identified by the following characteristics:

1. He tends to regard the state as a servant, rather than an enemy, of the people, and as a positive instrument for the advancement of the public welfare.

2. He recognizes that property "rights" are only legal privileges. Whenever these privileges obstruct social progress, he is ready to modify them in the public interest.

3. He will not be found mouthing the battle cries of "Down with bureaucracy," "It's socialistic," "Interference with states' rights," etc. Rather than decide any issue on the basis of an emotionalized symbol, the liberal asks, "In what specific ways will the public interest be furthered or hindered by this measure?"

4. He is the first to defend genuine civil liberties and minority rights.

5. He has deep humanitarian impulses, which he expresses by supporting legislation designed to raise the economic and social status of the underprivileged. In this connection, he believes ours is one nation and that wealthier sections of the US are obligated to assist the less fortunate regions in the drive to establish minimum living standards for all.

6. He may favor a regulatory, rather than a socialistic, approach to our problems of corporate concentration, monopoly and depressions; he has not, however, an inveterate antipathy toward public economic enterprises.

7. He normally considers a large federal budget (if that budget is allocated principally to non-military projects) as a sign of national progress rather than a cause for alarm.

8. He is generally sympathetic with the objectives of labor unions, although he does not decide union-management controversies according to a preconceived bias for labor. (Some liberals stumble over this point.)

9. He is no flag-waging nationalist. He tries to see the good, as well as the evil, in other nations; he tries to see the evil, as well as the good, in America. He has an international outlook and favors ex-

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pansion of international coöperation in attacking the world's problems.

10. He is determined to work for peaceful solutions. He will not deny his enemies the rights he wishes for himself. He does not believe the end justifies the means. He is not inflexibly dogmatic in his appraisal of political problems.

Communists, incidentally, share none of these views with the true liberal.

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Social Note

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Short Cut

Never in all history has it been so easy to procure a rich cultural background and wide education as now. Why, if you'll just devote 15 minutes per day to this newspaper, you'll banish ignorance even if you never had a chance to attend high school. – *From the Minneapolis* Star.

Change of Venue

There is going to be confusion for sure over "Washington Girl," Deanna Durbin's picture, and "Washington Story," the Roy Del Ruth movie. The stories are completely dissimilar, and Roy says he has had his since we were at war with the Japs. But now that we are no longer fighting them, he is changing the locale from the Japanese embassy to the Russian embassy. – *From Louella Parsons' syndicated column.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

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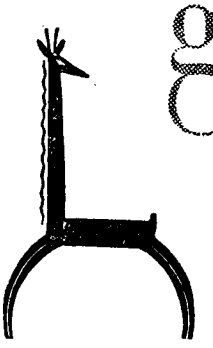

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